THE
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THE ENGLISH REVIEW

Current Comments

NOVEMBER, 1933

THE month of October has seen a marked change in the position of the Government. Five weeks ago the Government seemed stronger than for many months. Unemployment was falling, there was a slight but appreciable revival in trade, and the continuance of cheap money was producing large savings in expenditure; there were high hopes of a reduction in taxation, and the official opposition seemed heading for a split in its ranks.

The strength of Governments depends on public opinion, and public opinion is inevitably based on the superficial indications. The Government five weeks ago seemed stronger than it was. To-day, it may well be a little stronger than it appears; but the change is nevertheless definite and permanent. It is due to three things. The Conservative party conference, while reaffirming by a majority its tentative and hypothetical support of the Government's Indian policy, passed with acclamation what was in effect a vote of censure on the Government's defence policy, and refused, also by acclamation, to pass a resolution congratulating the Government on their disarmament policy. Mr. Baldwin attempted to counter these significant, unanimous and enthusiastic decisions of his own party by making disarmament the theme of his speech at the mass meeting and by reaffirming at the same time the country's adherence to the policy of Locarno, under which German re-armament may become a *casus belli*.

A Desperate Gamble

THE Government thus found themselves doubly pledged to the success of their disarmament policy, because if it failed we were, in circumstances not at all

unlikely to arise, pledged, in their view, to intervene in a continental war, and at the same time by their tacit admission—since no Government spokesman dared to challenge Lord Lloyd's resolution on National defence—we were incapable of such intervention. In these circumstances the Government's credit was irretrievably bound up in the success of their Geneva policy, which involved delivering something very like an ultimatum to Germany. It must have been known to everyone that no German Government which accepted the British proposals would remain in office twenty-four hours. It was equally certain that no French Government would remain in office if it accepted a further reduction of French armaments without effective guarantees against German re-armament. Yet the Government persisted in their policy, with results now evident to the world.

Another "Chanak"

THE results, as they affect the international situation, are discussed elsewhere. We are concerned here with the equally serious results at home. They are at least as serious as the results to Mr. Lloyd George's Second Coalition of the mishandling of the Turkish situation which led to the crisis at Chanak. Then, as now, the Government was absolutely without the means of implementing its policy. A strong British Government, with a powerful navy and an expeditionary force, might (though we regard it as so unlikely as to be inconceivable) have forced Germany into a grudging assent to Sir John Simon's policy. Equally, a strong government, with the country solidly behind it on the disarmament issue, might just possibly have roused public opinion to support armed intervention in the event of a German refusal to accept the policy. But a Government resting on Conservative support, without an army, with no cruisers to protect our food supplies, and with the full knowledge that the Conservative party had

unanimously condemned their disarmament policy, was obviously powerless from the start.

The National Government and Public Opinion

WHAT is the result? The Government stand condemned by public opinion. They dare not wind up the Disarmament Conference, because, if they do, they have to face the consequences of their neglect of our defences; yet they cannot bring it to a successful conclusion. They cannot save themselves by sacrificing Sir John Simon, because that would be tantamount to admitting the most disastrous diplomatic defeat this country had experienced for a century and a half. Their position is further embarrassed by the now public and general admission of the dangerous state of our national defences, for which adequate provision must be made in the next budget. Even the one bull point for the Government, the slight trade revival, has become a bear point, because those who are profiting by it will be the last, not the first, to support the Government's foreign policy. Politically, the Government may continue to exist for some time to come. As a national force in international affairs, it has for the present ceased to exist.

A Manufactured Scare

MISTAKES, if they cannot be understood, can at least be excused. What public opinion cannot excuse is the attempt of the Government's supporters, in order to conceal from the public the failure of the Government's policy, to manufacture an international crisis, and even to arouse public feeling in favour of war. The talk about " all responsible statesmen " being agreed that the one hope of peace lies in the success of the Disarmament Conference is flapdoodle; there is not a single responsible statesman who is agreed on anything of the kind. The key to the British plan itself was the re-armament of Germany, and, little though we agree with some of the strictures passed on the present German Government, it would be ridiculous to suggest that

German re-armament is a positive contribution to peace. The blunt fact, which the man in the street recognizes, is that the attempt to allow German re-armament and to enforce French disarmament simultaneously has failed, for obvious reasons which have their root in history and cannot be evaded or denied. This was the policy of the British Government: it has never commanded the enthusiastic support of the British public, who are now not in a temper to be told that, because it has failed, the world is on the brink of disaster.

The Trade Revival

THE revival of trade is slight but certainly genuine. Unfortunately, it is not accompanied by any real relief in the unemployment situation. The number of permanently disemployed is still steadily increasing, and our relief at seeing the aggregate figures lowered must be tempered by the knowledge that the aggregate figures mean little. Many hundreds of thousands of those recorded as unemployed are in transit from one job to another and are, happily, not "unemployed" in the ordinary sense of the term. They are, as a matter of fact, precisely those for whom the unemployment scheme was originally started in 1912, i.e. workers whose employment (as in the building trade) is, by the nature of the case, liable to periodical interruptions. The number of such men remains more or less constant, but the intervals between jobs vary immensely with trade conditions, and the totals issued by the Ministry of Labour rise or fall accordingly. The present revival has shown itself in a reduction of the figures of temporarily unemployed and workers on short time to a total not very largely in excess of the corresponding total when the Labour Government was in office. The statistics of the more or less totally unemployed and of those not on the registers but in receipt of public assistance are, however, not diminishing but increasing, and the total of these two classes is a shocking one.

Discreditable Complacency

WE deeply deplore the complacent silence of the Government spokesmen on these matters. It is right that they should take credit for what they have done, but it is not enough, and decent people do not regard it as enough. If the Government persist in their attitude, it will be necessary for the constructive elements in the Conservative and other parties to challenge them on this issue. It is notoriously false that there is no third choice between inaction on the one hand and revolutionary Socialism on the other, or that the only hope lies in a return to the Victorian international trade system. The world is moving rapidly towards an era of greatly increased economic self-sufficiency, and the current cannot be stemmed. It is perfectly useless to expect newly industrialized countries to close their factories and open their markets to our manufacturers. Other countries will buy from us when we can supply better goods than they can make, or goods which they cannot make at all, or raw materials which they need. But they will never open their markets to a flood of goods which are merely cheaper. To base our trade policy on that anticipation is to base it on a lie.

No Return to Free Trade

WE do not propose to weary our readers with an argument on this point. It is, we believe, easily demonstrable that the unrestricted exchange of manufactures is in modern conditions undesirable in itself. But what is certain is that it is impracticable, and trade policy must be based on the actualities of the moment. To attempt to bolster up or to restore an effete economy is not merely to condemn a whole generation to unnecessary poverty and suffering, but to place future generations under an impossible handicap of lost opportunities and wasted effort. We could no more recover in this century from a return to free trade than we could from an incursion into Socialism. In these circumstances

a direct and urgent responsibility lies on all disinterested politicians to formulate and work for a constructive programme within the limits of what is possible, adjusted to the real circumstances of our times.

Needed: A Sense of Direction

THE first essential of such a policy is that it should be properly directed. Political programmes stand or fall not by how much they offer, but by the *kind of life* they wish to make possible. That was why, in the adventure of an expanding world, when the electorate was composed only of the relatively prosperous, *laissez faire* economics were irresistibly popular. Opportunities for the employment of capital, opportunities for the employment of executive ability, were abundant: a fair field and no favour was what men asked for. When the weakest had no votes, what mattered it if the weakest went to the wall? To-day the demand of the electorate is not for more goods or higher doles, but for a combination of status, security and opportunity. This cannot be supplied by Socialism, except to a privileged bureaucratic caste. But neither is it provided by the present system, which keeps half the nation and their dependants in a state of propertyless insecurity alternated with long periods when they are directly dependent on public charity. In these circumstances Socialism, which at least promises security, makes an appeal to the propertyless which is only ineffective because of a doubt whether Socialist politicians can "deliver the goods." It is this doubt about the practicability of Socialism, not any positive support for the present order, which keeps the Labour Party out of office. For some years it may continue to do so, but in the long run a purely negative anti-socialist policy will fail.

A Lost Opportunity

THE present Government had an unparalleled opportunity of developing, free from the menace of partisan opposition, a constructive philosophy. They

have miserably failed. They have set themselves instead to the task of keeping the present order in being, blindly regardless of the forces which are moving men's minds all the world over to the building of a different kind of world. In Russia, in Italy, in Germany, in Turkey, in Austria and in the United States these forces are in possession of the field. Middle-class parliamentarianism is at once more efficient, more disinterested, and more historic in this country, but these facts will not in the end prevail if it remains unwilling or shows itself unable to meet the needs of the new age.

The Need for Functional Representation

THE transition from a world of self-sufficient agricultural communities, whose trade was confined to the exchange of raw materials, and whose foreign policy was dominated by the desire to exploit, to a world of self-sufficient industrialized communities is nearly accomplished. We are facing the new age with a political machine inherited from the days when we were a small agricultural community and an economic policy evolved to meet the peculiar nineteenth-century conditions of a world in process of industrialization. In so far as industry is represented—indirectly and accidentally—in our political system, it is the old nineteenth-century interests which are heard. In any case, the representation of industry is informal and inefficient. The result is that when the political machine is called on to face the problems of the transition it is forced either to remain inactive or to indulge in haphazard interference. This interference has been almost uniformly disastrous in its results, but in any case the disadvantages of method outweigh even the few positive goods which have been achieved. For political interference with industry has led to the attempts of capital and labour to capture the political machine in their own interest, and even, it may be said with some justice, in self-defence. We can only escape from this intolerable

regime of amateur interference, alternated by spasmodic efforts to exploit political power for sectional purposes, by incorporating in our parliamentary system some method of functional representation which will place on industry, i.e. on capital and labour associated together constitutionally, the final responsibility for industrial organization and efficiency.

The Political Problem

THE political problem remains. The widespread distrust of the present order is due to the failure of any political party to realize what the problem is. Put briefly, it is to reconcile individual liberty, personal responsibility and an independent status with a world of organized production and scientific distribution. The knot cannot be cut by making mere plenty our objective —or mere liberty. Still less, by aiming at mere efficiency. You cannot solve the problem of slavery by amusing the slaves. We have got, first of all, to re-employ our people by developing and using our own agricultural and mineral resources. In this way alone can we save our standard of life from the competition of other nations forced by their rulers to accept a lower standard, and free industry from the control of finance. Next, we have to aim at a world of high wages accompanied by a high degree of individual responsibility, leaving to the State only the responsibility for those who have fallen out of industry through no fault of their own. The individual will spend his money better than the State. Next, we must safeguard enterprise by a monetary policy designed to maintain a stable internal price level, thus directly and permanently encouraging the development of our own resources in preference to investment abroad. Finally, we must adopt as our cardinal political aim the widest possible distribution of private property, which is the only effective guarantee of liberty. Liberty does not mean liberty to talk but liberty to enjoy, and the basis of enjoyment is not use but ownership. The

necessary corollary of this policy is a resolute opposition to undue concentrations of capital.

The Need for Leadership

WE end where we began. The problem is one of direction. Given leaders who know clearly within the limits of practicability the *kind of world* they want to build, there is no difficulty in the building of it. And there will be less than no difficulty in winning the support necessary to begin the task. Our people are wisely distrustful of extremes, whether Fascist or Communist. Nothing but the continued indifference of the Centre parties to the real needs of the time will drive the English people to either experiment. Failing, however, a revitalization of our politics, the next few years will see a definite move away from the Centre. The appeal to fear will not succeed a second time.

Contract Bridge and the Portland Club

A CURIOUS situation has arisen over the Portland Club's ruling that any indication of the position of a particular card in the course of the bidding is illegal. Obviously, the whole purpose of contract bridge bidding is to indicate to your partner, while concealing from your opponents, the position of as many cards as possible. The Portland Club's attitude is painfully like that of the M.C.C. on bodyline bowling and Sir John Simon on disarmament. New cases demand new laws and new policies and the laws must conform to the spirit of the game, not the game to the laws, which have no inherent validity of their own. The question at issue has, in reality, nothing to do with placing the cards, or with the laws as they stand. Is it desirable or not to legislate against conventional informative bids which can only be made safely because of an understanding between the partners that the bids will not be left in? In most people's view, such legislation is extremely desirable, but it is obviously illogical to allow one informative bid (the informative

double) and to disallow others. In any case, it is impossible, because there is one way only of stopping these bids. This is to give the opponents the right to stop the auction at any point and to insist on the hand being played according to the last bid. In the event of the right being exercised, all tricks taken would, of course, be scored below the line, but penalties would be as for a redouble. A bid of two clubs, for instance, could be challenged, and the hand would be played in clubs. If the declarers get three over their contract they would score game. If the bid were a psychic bid and the declarers had no clubs, they might be four or five down, with very heavy penalties. Under such a rule, slam bonuses which are at present excessive, would be well earned and might even be increased. DOUGLAS JERROLD.

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Industry and Capital and Labour in the Fascist State

By Hugh Molson, M.P.

AN article in the March number of THE ENGLISH REVIEW described how the Fascist philosophy has remodelled the political constitution of Italy in order to give expression to the voices of economic interests rather than of individual citizens. The obvious failure of Parliamentary democracy on the English pattern to deal with the economic problem of the twentieth century as successfully as it dealt with the political problems of the nineteenth is met in the Fascist State in two ways: in the first place, the Chamber itself is predominantly composed of representatives of economic interests; in the second place very many economic matters are delegated, both for administrative and legislative purposes, to the self-governing organizations of the great industries. These self-governing organizations are to the Fascist State what local government bodies are to the English State.

In attempting to organize the economic life of Italy, the first step was obviously to end the struggle between capital and labour. Signor Mussolini felt that this could only be done by collective bargaining between representative associations of employers and employed who could, if they reached an agreement, impose the terms of that settlement on the entire industry; compulsory arbitration in reserve insured a peaceful settlement if agreement could not be reached.

The Fascist philosophy therefore definitely rejects the doctrine of most modern governments that the State should be neutral in industrial disputes and that workers have a right to withdraw their labour and employers to refuse to give employment. The Fascist says that such an attitude may have been reasonable in days when industries were of minor importance and a stoppage

injured only the parties, but nowadays a trade dispute assumes national proportions, inflicts suffering on all related industries and causes loss to the nation as a whole. Therefore the State ought not to take up the attitude of a referee at a boxing match, but should interfere like a policeman in a street brawl. And even in this country such views have, as a result of bitter experience, made progress of recent years. A few years ago the usual comment of newspapers on the eve of a trade dispute was that the Government should "keep the ring"; to-day the same newspapers and public opinion clamour loudly for the Government to impose a settlement, but they do not go far enough to give the Government the machinery by which to do so. It may be worth while seeing how this end has been attained in Italy.

Fascismo is sometimes represented as being hostile to trade unions. On the contrary, trade unions are the basis of Fascist organization, both political and economic, and the State only just stops short of making them compulsory. If, however, trade unions are fostered, encouraged and privileged, they are also controlled. The workers in every branch of industry are expected to have a trade union, and if it is "recognized" by the State it is empowered to enter into collective bargains which are binding on all engaged in that industry, whether members of the union or not. Equally the employers on their side are expected to form an association or union, and if "recognized" it is empowered to enter into agreements with the men's union. As in the case of the men's union, there is no obligation on any individual employer to join, but whether he does so or not he is bound to conform to the conditions with regard to wages and conditions of labour which have been agreed to by the "recognized" employers' association.

Recognition may be granted to an organization if it includes 10 per cent. of those engaged in the industry, employers or employed, as the case may be, if it makes provision in its rules for social services amongst the

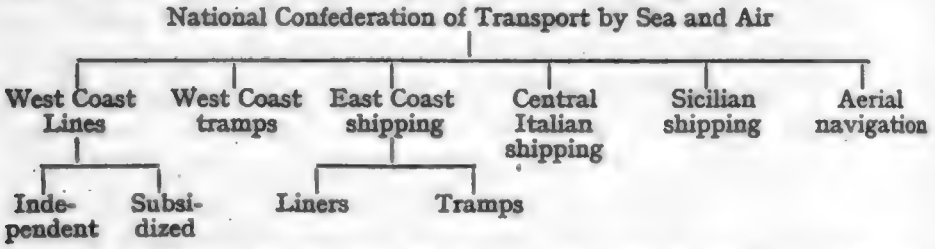
workers, which in English parlance would constitute it a friendly society, and if it is under the management of persons whose ability, character and good citizenship are approved by the Minister. Even if these conditions are fulfilled, recognition cannot be demanded as of right, but is entirely within the discretion of the Minister of Corporations. If recognition is granted, the syndicate immediately obtains special powers. It is the official and sole representative of all engaged in its industry in all matters and particularly in those relating to collective bargains which deal with conditions of labour. It can impose a levy on all whom it represents, whether members or non-members, because the latter benefit by its social activities, and in addition it is required to build up a *fondo di garanzia* or reserve fund out of which to pay any fines or damages to which its misconduct may make it liable. The recognized syndicates, moreover, have the valuable political prerogative of selecting candidates for the Italian Parliament. A recent reform aiming at simplification has now limited the right to apply for legal recognition to federations and confederations; the syndicates themselves acquire their status by virtue of forming constituent bodies of the recognized federations.

The syndicalist organization consists of thirteen national confederations, six representing the workers and six the employers in the following categories : agriculture, industry, trade, maritime and aerial transport, inland navigation and banking; the thirteenth confederation includes all engaged in the liberal professions and the arts. Each confederation is composed of a number of federations representing workers or employers by categories, and these federations are in turn composed of syndicates representing still smaller categories. There is no hesitation about increasing indefinitely the number of primary syndicates if it appears that there is any small category which could not adequately express its point of view if classified with another. The system is a pyramid based on a very large number of primary associations,

that is associations of individuals, culminating in a single confederation which can speak for the whole body of those engaged in one branch of the nation's activities.

The constitutions of the different confederations have to vary widely to meet the special requirements of each case, and flexibility rather than uniformity is the aim. It is obvious, for example, that the organization representing all the industrial wage-earners of Italy requires to be far more complex than that representing the bankers.

It may be convenient to show one typical simplified chart illustrating the organization of shipowners :—



It will be seen that the organization into syndicates follows no arbitrary rule, but is modified according to requirements.

It is the special purpose of these syndicates to deal with disputes between capital and labour as to conditions of employment. The first step towards ending economic civil war was to give the "recognized" syndicate the right to bargain in the name of, and to bind all engaged in a particular industry whether members of the syndicate or not. In each occupation the conditions of labour have to be settled by negotiation between the appropriate syndicates representing the two parties. It will, of course, depend upon the nature of the occupation whether the collective agreement is to apply to a single town or to a district or to the whole country, and whether it is to apply to a single trade or to a broad category of workers or to an entire industry, and upon this in turn depends the question as to whether local primary syndicates, provincial unions or federations of syndicates or the confederation is the appropriate negotiating body. There is therefore room for

discussion in Italy as to whether there should be what is called in English coal-mining circles a national or a district settlement, but the discussion can never lead to a strike. It is claimed that in the vast majority of cases a settlement is arrived at between the two parties, largely because there has to be the fullest disclosure by the employers of the real state of the industry. In the event of a deadlock which cannot be overcome by the good offices of the corporation, the organization representing both the employers and the employed of the industry, the matter is referred for decision to an Industrial Court (La Magistratura del Lavoro). This consists of the ordinary Court of Appeal and two independent experts selected by the president from a panel prepared on the recommendation of the Provincial Economic Councils. The court must constantly endeavour while hearing the case to persuade the parties to come to a friendly settlement, but if they will not do so, the court's judgment is a binding decision as to the conditions upon which employers must keep their works open and the employees must be willing to work. This is comparatively simple where the point at issue is the interpretation or application of an accepted collective agreement, but the task is far more delicate where the court has to lay down the terms of an industrial settlement in the absence of agreement between the parties. The first is a justiciable, the second is a non-justiciable dispute, and in the latter case therefore the court, like an arbitral tribunal, has to determine what is fair, *ex æquo et bono*. The court must take into account all relevant factors—the cost of living, the prosperity of the industry, the productivity of the worker—and it will be largely guided by the conditions of labour in adjacent and similar industries. It is clear that the Labour Court here has had delegated to it legislative functions, for its decision gives rise to a whole series of rights and obligations affecting all engaged in that particular industry.

The collective agreement, whether come to voluntarily or imposed by the Industrial Court, must state

the period for which it operates, the hours of labour, the wages, the weekly day of rest, the annual paid holiday, compensation payable to the worker in the event of his death or sickness or dismissal without blame attaching to him. All this is inspired by the Carta del Lavoro, a true Magna Carta of Italian labour. The terms of the collective bargains have to be approved by the Ministry of Corporations, and published. When all conditions have been fulfilled, the terms have the force of law in that particular industry, and no contract violating its terms, except to pay higher wages, is valid.

All this machinery would be useless if the peaceful settlements could not be enforced. Accordingly, the law provides definitions of lock-outs and of strikes, and both criminal penalties and civil damages for each. It is partly with a view to such an eventuality that all syndicates are required, as we have seen, to keep reserve funds.

That this system of conciliation and arbitration has been successful is proved by the relative industrial peace which distinguishes Italy from other countries. Nor can it be said that any revolution in thought would be needed in England for the acceptance of compulsory arbitration. Public opinion was given an impulse in that direction when in the autumn of 1932 a dispute in the Italian cotton industry was peacefully settled during the disastrous and unsuccessful strike in Lancashire. At one stage of our development, the State did not feel itself justified in substituting compulsorily in ordinary criminal cases trial by jury for ordeal by battle, and as recently as 1741 a man was pressed to death by the *peine forte et dure* who refused to give the necessary consent to being tried by jury. Compulsory arbitration between nations is already accepted and it is a far more ambitious enterprise to abolish international war than industrial disputes.

Fascismo does not rest content with the negative achievement of preventing conflict in industry by means

of the syndical organization; by means of its corporate organization it aims at establishing active co-operation between capital and labour, and between different industries and between producers and consumers. The syndical state is vertical and leaves employers and employed in different organizations opposing each other. The corporate State consists of horizontal divisions and links employers and employed together in a body concerned for the welfare of the industries upon which they all equally depend, and to that body is entrusted, as will appear later, very considerable powers of regulation and control of the industry.

It was originally intended to set up in each province a Provincial Corporation representing workers and employers in every branch of production, but to avoid duplication use was made of the existing Provincial Economic Councils, which were broadly analogous to chambers of commerce, and by Law No. 875 of 1931 they were renamed Provincial Corporative Economic Councils. The National Corporations are not a grouping of these Provincial Corporative Councils (which are, of course, geographical), but are organized on an occupational basis. Thus, for example, the National Corporation of the Theatre, the only one yet in full operation, represents the industry as a whole and includes all connected with it, from playwrights to scene-shifters. Finally, there is the National Council of the Corporations over which the head of the Government, or in his absence the Minister of Corporations, who at the moment is also Signor Mussolini, presides. This economic sub-Parliament consists of a specified number of representatives of the recognized syndicates, but here the thirteen categories into which producers were divided is reduced to seven, each syndicate of employers being grouped with its corresponding syndicate of employed, and that of the liberal professions constitutes the seventh. The National Council includes also various Ministers and officials. Sometimes the whole body meets, sometimes

the committees representing the seven branches of the national life, sometimes sub-committees dealing with special problems or with individual industries.

The National Corporation is the organ of self-government for each branch of the nation's activities. Each corporation is empowered to lay down general rules as to the conditions of labour in the group of industries it controls. It acts as conciliator in industrial disputes which cannot be taken to the Industrial Court until its mediation has failed. It controls through joint committees of masters and men Labour Exchanges through which all employed have to be engaged and at which all the unemployed have to sign on. It also lays down rules of apprenticeship and conditions for the admission of recruits to the industry, both to protect the newcomer from exploitation and the established workers from unreasonable outside competition. It is also responsible for seeing that regulations with regard to safety in factories are obeyed. It will not escape notice that many of these functions are in Britain discharged by the overworked State and that reformers have often suggested that industries should themselves undertake these responsibilities, but generally without proposing the exact machinery to be used.

No less important are the corporations' economic and financial duties. Their duty is, in fact, quite generally to do whatever is necessary for the advancement of their industry. By organization and co-ordination they try to prevent wasteful competition, to bring inefficient undertakings up to the standard of the best and to act as a clearing-house for ideas on management and technique. They would prevent a factory being erected where there was no scope and encourage its erection in a more suitable place—and none but the most conservative will condemn this attempt at conscious planning. An established industry might desire the starting of a subsidiary or allied industry in its vicinity; the corporation would take the matter up. Or again a new wage settlement in

one industry providing for an increase in wages might entail a rise in the price of the finished article which would injure some connected industry. In England there is no machinery for preventing an agreement between employers and men in one industry to take advantage of a favoured or sheltered position to raise prices and share the loot—it is, indeed, obvious that much of the unemployment in England at present is due to the maladjustment of wage levels in different industries. The machinery for solving this problem now exists in Italy. There may also be occasions when industry feels that it is not sufficiently assisted by the banks, or when the latter think that industry is following an unwise policy, and a conference between the two corporations might bring about the desired change or at any rate make known the reasons why it was impracticable. Within the last few months a further development has taken place in the formation of *corporazioni di categorie*, the purpose of which is to include in the same organization an industry and its allied trades, but their precise constitution and functions are still not clear.

The functions of the National Council of Corporations at the apex of the Corporative State are very wide. It may be consulted by the Government on any economic question, and in addition it has power to make rules bearing on collective agreements between syndicates or dealing with the relations of industries with each other, with merchants or with consumers. The Minister of Corporations controls the whole organization and acts also as its permanent secretary, or executive officer.

The European world to-day no longer follows the *laissez-faire* doctrines of the last century, though it still often pays lip-service to them. Every country, and Britain most of all, restricts by Government action freedom of contract between capital and labour; it interferes with the relations of industry and imposes marketing schemes, fixes prices and restricts or encourages output. Governments act on the assumption that they

cannot afford to let a great industry collapse, and all the time they loudly disclaim any desire to intervene and refuse to provide themselves with adequate machinery for doing so. Italy has accepted the logic of the position and has provided machinery for the close co-ordination and regulation of her economic activities. Fascismo maintains private enterprise on the pragmatical ground that it works best, but does not admit any right of private property or of individual liberty which conflicts with the interest of the State. It believes that supervision on behalf of the State is necessary, but it recognizes that only industries themselves have the intimate knowledge of conditions which must inform that control if it is not to be the paralysing grasp of an aloof bureaucracy.

Thus the Italian State in so far as it is syndical has established machinery for bringing capital and labour into friendly relations, in so far as it is corporative it has co-ordinated all the productive activities of the nation.

The Crisis in Spain

By the Marquis del Moral

THE first phase in the history of the second Spanish Republic (of 1931) has come to a somewhat inglorious end in the fall of the Azaña Government. The limpet-like qualities exhibited by the latter were largely due to its molluscular instinct to cling frantically to the rock of financial security, represented by Ministerial salaries and 1,000 pesetas (approximately £40) per month (the pay of a deputy to the Cortes), with the additional incentive of wielding despotic power and gratifying with impunity private enmities and class hatred.

This is the most recent example of the evil of a system of payment of members of a constituent assembly which, without proper legislative control, has enabled a minority Government to cling tenaciously to office for many months in order to apply a policy of confiscatory legislation to a particular class of the people it was governing, and this in the face of most definite proofs that it no longer had the confidence of the country.

The Republic had the fullest opportunity to carry out its schemes of reform without interference from intrigue or opposition, because on leaving the country the King instructed all to help and not to hinder the Government. The world, also, waited with bated breath for the new Constitution which, it was so announced, would be a model for all Governments for all time. The two-and-a-half years' work of the Republic under Azaña will probably for all time be summed up in the words used by Sr. Martinez Barrios, now Prime Minister of Spain. When the truth of the Casas Viejas murders was disclosed to the Cortes some months ago, he described the work of the Republic in words which still stand on record in the *Diario de las Sesiones* (Hansard): "Fango, sangre y lágrimas" ("Filth (lit., 'mud'), blood and tears").

It is unnecessary to attempt a resumé of the history of this period, as this has already been well done in "The Spanish Republic," published in July by Eyre

and Spottiswoode, and most favourably reviewed in the English press because of its impartiality and plain statement of facts. This book has also created such impression among Spanish readers that it has been translated for Spanish publication by a former strong Republican supporter, Joaquín del Moral, of whom more hereafter.

It is not proposed to deal with such familiar incidents as the destruction of churches, and the ruin of the work of religious schools and works of art, abrogation of justice, imprisonment and exile of innocent men without trial, assassination of men prominent in the life of the country, cold-blooded murder of ignorant peasants, murder and actual mutilation of the bodies of the police, wholesale incendiarism, maiming of stock, robbery and such like, for many of these have become commonplace events of everyday life. It is intended to consider only certain aspects of the Republican policy carried out with regard to the Army, Police and Socialistic control of municipal life and its influence on the political situation of to-day.

Army.—In Spanish history the Army has always played the largest part in the making and unmaking of Governments. Azaña appointed himself Minister of War with the declared intention of preventing history repeating itself in this respect. The best officers were retired on a pension scheme, and others dismissed. This policy was so drastic that further " suitable " appointments had to be made to even carry on the emasculated force; the officer class was broken up and Bolshevistic " cells " were created among the rank and file; generally speaking, the Army has been reduced to a condition of unreliability even to the Republic itself.

Police.—The Guardia Civil, one of the finest police forces in the world, has always been remarkable for its *esprit de corps* and the prestige it commanded in the country. It has never taken sides in political disturbances except to maintain order, and when the Republic came in was not used by its commanding officer, General Sanjurjo, to take any part as between the Monarchy and the

Republic. Such a body of men was a recognized danger to Socialistic aspirations, so a definite policy has been carried out to ruin both its *esprit de corps* and prestige. The Guardia was forbidden to interfere at any meetings or disturbances, as in former days they would have in the ordinary course; they have been compelled to stand by and watch acts committed contrary to all preconceived ideas of duty. Besides having some of the desired psychological effect on the internal spirit of the corps, this has seriously damaged its prestige with the general public, and its influence no longer is what it used to be.

In order to gradually substitute another body more amenable to Socialistic ideals which could be used on important special occasions, the Guardia de Asalto (Shock Police) was constituted, largely recruited from the Spanish Foreign Legion previously used in Morocco and containing a large proportion of the gangster type. It is not necessary to say more of its ideals or spirit, for it was a party of this corps, under its officers, which was responsible for the cold-blooded murder of twenty unfortunate peasants, including a woman and an old man, at Casas Viejas in January last in order " to save the Republic."

Instances occur almost daily which sufficiently show the part played by this force all over Spain in pursuance of the definite policy of the Government.

Socialistic Control of Municipalities.—The important personages in a town or village are the Alcalde (mayor) and the magistrate. By appointing Socialists to fill these positions the control of the Civil Government of the place was assured. Each town or village now has its Casa del Pueblo or Socialist headquarters.

The upper classes were compelled to surrender all arms after 1931 and this has left them without means of defence. The surrendered arms have largely been issued to the Casas del Pueblo, and by the latter, after the rebellion of 1932, to its Socialist supporters.

It is from the Casas del Pueblo that attacks have been

organized on the property of local landowners, incendiarism, maiming of stock, etc. In several cases of recent incendiarism the local mayor has himself actually been caught in *flagrante delicto*.

Landed Property.—The abrogation of the old laws of ownership of property which have existed for centuries and were peculiarly suited to the condition of the country has been the stupid act of men blinded with petty spite and class hatred, under the pretence of supplying land to a class of people who in the main do not want it.

The confiscation of the property of Grandees is being carried out irrespective of the fact that by far the greater part was purchased and a comparatively small part in past centuries granted for valuable services rendered by certain families. The case of the Duke of Valencia is an example. This gentleman wrote a few weeks ago to the Press to point out that he not only inherited no property ("not a single centimo") whatever with the title conferred last century on General Naváez, the first holder of the title who played a considerable part in the reign of Queen Isabella, but that he has had to pay heavy fees and accept other obligations on assuming the title. The whole of his property was purchased or inherited from previous purchases by members of his family, but because he became a Grandee on assuming the title this property is now claimed by the Republic for confiscation!! There are many similar cases.

In addition, other parts of the Agrarian Law are drafted so as to catch other property, especially leaseholds. Attempts were made to pass provisions that after 12 or 15 years (alteration was suggested in the original term) the property becomes the tenants', and the idea is to base compensation on the rental paid in the original lease. As some of these leases originated several hundred years ago, in many cases still being held by the same family, it can be estimated what the value of the compensation will be!

Such legislation is a deliberate repudiation of historical facts. Many centuries have created a system of land-

ownership peculiarly suited to the varying conditions existing in different regions, where conditions of climate, soil, etc., have an important bearing on the methods of cultivation and ownership.

The sale of land to tenants under a system of gradual payments has been previously tried by large landholders in Spain, with the inevitable result that within a short period it has fallen into the hands of money lenders or men of their own class, who have not proved as merciful as the original landlords, or it has had to be repurchased by the former owners. Nothing has been said by Azaña to explain why many thousands of farm labourers have combined with their farmer landlords in the great Agrarian movement now increasing daily; this combination a few weeks ago broke up a general strike at Salamanca ordered by the Socialists.

Trade.—The business of the country has been entirely disorganized and the shrinkage of trade can be computed almost daily. The middle classes, consisting of those engaged in the professions, commerce and the Intellectuals, were chiefly responsible for the advent of the Republic, and they are now paying and will still more dearly pay for their fantastic dreams.

The position was a few days ago summed up by Calvo Sotelo, ex-Finance Minister under Primo de Ribera, who says :—

> "There now remains an Army crushed, a Navy in decline, wealth bled to death, workmen hungry and epileptic, the blood of many hundreds of victims, the orgy of some sterile sumptuary projects, justice torn to pieces, and rights of ownership totally disregarded."

Some people claim that the trade of Cataluña is thriving and gives a true idea of the progress under Republican rule, but such advocates say little of the shrinkage of trade, daily strikes, closing of businesses, terrorism and shooting that takes place daily, and which is duly reported in the Spanish Press.

Strikes are daily declared all over the country for

the most childish reasons, and the loss to the country in this respect alone has been enormous.

An argument has been advanced that the commercial condition of the country cannot be really bad because the peseta stands at 36–38 to the £ sterling. But this is a comparison with a depreciated £, off the gold standard. During the Dictatorship for several years the peseta stood at 28–30 and declined to 50 in the latter part of this period. Two years ago when the £ left the gold standard the peseta exchange was under stringent restrictions, as it is to-day. Taking the £ on the gold standard the peseta to-day would stand at 60 or more, and if exchange restrictions were removed and the peseta allowed to find its own level, based on the commercial and political condition of the country, the fall would be such as to stagger those optimists of Republican Socialist rule as well as their victims.

Some indication of this can be seen in the value of the shares of first-class Spanish enterprises which have fallen to less than 50 per cent. of their value of three years ago; shares which were then worth 300–320 pesetas are now quoted at 140 or less; this is independent of the fall of the peseta and cannot be attributed only to world conditions. Arguments in favour of the happy condition of Spanish trade are best answered by cold facts. In 1930, a little more than two and a half years ago, total Spanish exports amounted to 2,300 millions pesetas *gold*. In 1932 this total had shrunk to 740 millions, a decrease of 1,560 millions, or two-thirds in two years. The publication, on October 13th, of the Statistics of Spanish exports from January to August, 1933, is 438 millions, as compared with 691 millions for the same period of 1931, a decrease of 253 millions in the eight months.

The Political Situation.—In April 1931 the Republicans took control of the country, in spite of the fact that the municipal elections were in favour of the Monarchist supporters by twenty-two thousand to five thousand. A most shameful campaign of calumny had been started against King Alfonso before April 1931 : he was accused

of every possible crime; some things were only the popular repetition of statements made against Marie Antoinette during the French Revolution, but the one charge most in favour was that he had received huge bribes of shares in various concerns for concessions granted by him or the Dictatorship, etc. A most rigid examination of the accounts at the Palace by the Government showed that there was not a single stock or share which the King owned which had not been paid for out of his own money at the full market price. When the Government representative was asked to make a statement to this effect, he declined as he said it did not concern the Government!

The elections to the Cortes Constituyentes, an Assembly specially elected only to draft the Republican Constitution, was overwhelmingly in favour of the Republican parties, the Monarchists being practically forbidden to canvass or even vote. Once the Constitution had been drafted, this Cortes was to be immediately dissolved and elections held to appoint a new Cortes to carry on the government of the country; but Azaña and the Republicans, with blind confidence in the enduring nature of their power, were determined to make certain that the Socialistic ideals embodied in important and vital legislation should be presented to the Cortes, if such was ever elected, as an accomplished fact. These laws abrogated nearly every principle of justice, and tore to pieces the very life of the country which has been the growth of centuries.

During the past two and a half years the truth has been forcibly brought home that Spain was suffering under a tyranny which can only be compared with that of Russia. The result was that the municipal elections in April 1933 for half the country were a significant notice that the people were tired of Republican domination.

Ever since the truth of the Casas Viejas affair was known, a strong Opposition, including Radical Socialists and Republicans, has refused to take part in divisions

in the Cortes or, during August, even to attend and supply a quorum.

A remarkable indication of the hostility to the Government culminated in the elections to the Court of Constitutional Guarantees (Tribunal de Guarantias), appointed to control the proper working of the Republican Constitution. The issue was entirely non-political and was so declared by Azaña and his Ministers, but the country made it a political demonstration of great force. Out of fifteen members ("vocales") elected to the Tribunal by specified regions of Spain, only five Government candidates were successful, two of whom even are very doubtful supporters. The Radical Socialists, Lerroux's party, carried four, and the other six posts were won by the Conservatives of the extreme Right. In the actual voting the Opposition polled 34,193 votes against the Government's 12,916. The voters were only those who held the municipal vote, so this gives some indication of what may happen in November for the municipal elections or those for the Cortes.

In this connection the most interesting example was the election in the College of Advocates on September 10. The College has a membership of 8,000 voters distributed in 76 branches in various large towns. Of these, 2,600 belong to Madrid, 1,400 to Barcelona, 726 to Valencia, and 200 each to Sevilla and Bilbao, etc. The College had the right to nominate two representatives to the Tribunal, with two "suplentes" or alternates. The result was an overwhelming majority for Calvo Sotelo, who received 1,548 votes, César Silío, 1,293, with "suplentes," Joaquín del Moral, 1,417 votes, and Martinez Sabater, 853, other candidates being quite out of the running. The significance of this is that Calvo Sotelo is a Monarchist and former Minister under Primo de Ribera; César Silío, a Monarchist and formerly Conservative Minister under the Prime Minister, Dato; Sabater, a staunch supporter of the Right. Joaquín del Moral is a clever lawyer who was formerly a staunch Republican, and spared neither money nor work for his

party. A year ago he realized that the Azaña Government was ruining Spain, and his almost fanatical hatred has led to a bitter indictment of the Government in his two books, "Oligarquia y Enchufismo" and "10th of August"; the latter was suppressed on publication in July.

NOTE.—This title might be translated as "Oligarchy and Jobbery." "Enchufe" is an electrical plug or switch by which electricity is extracted from the main current for industrial uses. "Enchufismo" is applied in politics to a method of extracting public money and multiplying jobs by underhand methods and influence!

Emphasis has been laid on the election in the College of Advocates, because it comprises many of the best and shrewdest brains in the country, and in April, 1931, its sympathies were overwhelmingly Republican. It is a striking instance of the change of feeling so prevalent throughout the country.

Another significant election is that of Sr. March for the Balearic Isles, a rich man, previously elected a Deputy, but who has been kept in prison for eighteen months without trial.

During the last six months the declaration of a Socialist Dictatorship was seriously considered by the Azaña Government; and it was expected that Azaña would announce it as a fact when he spoke at Bilbao in April last. Though a Dictatorship has existed in actual fact for over two years, even the cynical vindictiveness of the Socialist leaders, Azaña, Prieto, Caballero and Besteiro, gave way to hesitation. They realized that the psychological moment for this declaration had been after the Sanjurjo rebellion on August 10, 1932.

Early in September desperate efforts were made to bring about some agreement with some of the parties of the Opposition who belonged to the Left, in order that several important Socialistic measures might be made law. The failure of these negotiations and the result of the elections to the Tribunal of Guarantees were too much even for the Azaña Ministry, and it resigned in spite of strong opposition from Largo Caballero, Minister of Labour.

The only man in the Opposition with any pretensions to leadership, though these were exaggerated, was Lerroux, a man of changeable character, clever and with a political past, but over 70 years of age. In the early days of the Republic he had cautiously refrained from definite opposition to the Azaña regime.

The long-coveted position at last was his when the President authorized him early in September to form a Ministry. After some difficulty he succeeded and the Socialists allowed two of their party to join his Cabinet.

It was obvious that without Socialistic support the Lerroux Government could not continue and that the Prime Minister ought to be prepared for any eventuality.

When the new Lerroux Government faced the Cortes on October 2 the fireworks began.

Azaña had made a personal attack on Lerroux the day before, to which Lerroux replied in no measured terms reproaching him with treachery for having supported the new Ministry and then withdrawn the support and stated that under the circumstances the Ministry must immediately resign. It was obvious from the withdrawal of the two Socialist Ministers, Santalo and Albornoz, from the Lerroux Cabinet and the bitter attack made on him by Azaña that an ambush had been prepared, but Lerroux had not due appreciation of his opponent's character and the foresight to have the decree of dissolution ready in his pocket to defeat this plan. In failing to provide for the contingency so clearly indicated he suffered the indignity of an immediate vote of censure by 189 votes to 91. On stating that he would at once resign, Besteiro, the Speaker, and one of the ablest directors of the Socialist party intervened and in strong terms insisted that the Prime Minister could not run away in this fashion but must listen to what other speakers had to say as this was their parliamentary prerogative. The edifying spectacle was presented of the Prime Minister first weakly arguing with the Speaker and then having to sit down with the members of his Cabinet to listen to the caustic comments of

Indalecio Prieto, Socialist ex-Minister, who described his conduct in trying to resign before being defeated as a mean political manœuvre and unworthy of the leader of a Republican party, etc.! The vehemence of Azaña's intervention in the debate showed that Lerroux's charges of treachery had pierced even his epidermis.

For five days desperate attempts were made to form a Ministry, even Dr. Marañon having been asked to do so. Eventually Martinez Barrios, Minister of the Interior in Lerroux's Cabinet, succeeded in doing so after much negotiation with Azaña and the Socialists. At first Lerroux's party refused to admit any Socialists to the Cabinet and the Socialists on their part refused to agree to Lerroux or any dismissed Minister being in the new Government under Article 75 of the Constitution. This compels the President of the Republic to dismiss all Ministers against whom a vote of censure has been passed, and declares that none of such Ministers can be reappointed in the Ministry which succeeds. In the same article, however, the President is given full power to appoint his Ministers, so that some definite interpretation of these contradictions will be necessary.

The deadlock was surmounted by Azaña paying a visit to Lerroux when the bitter names used a few days before by both were ignored and a beautiful example of Christian charity and forgiveness was exhibited by both parties withdrawing their respective objections to and abuse of the other.

The present position is that Azaña has by Article 75 prevented Lerroux from again becoming Prime Minister, but has graciously permitted the two Socialist Ministers withdrawn from the Cabinet a few days before to rejoin. Lerroux is therefore actually leader of the Government without being Prime Minister and has the responsibility and direction of a Government consisting of unknown men of no experience or ability.

As a leading article in *ABC*, October 8, says:—

> "The struggle of hatred, defamation, intrigue, ambush and attacks is suddenly followed by that of abdication, inconse-

quence, denials and apostasy, and it is impossible to say which party shows the most zeal in rivalling the other in recanting and in debasing itself. These are the men and the parties of the Republic and in this manner they are going to present themselves to the vote of the nation. It makes one wonder whether a lunatic asylum is governing us and corroborates the remark made a few days ago by Sr. Alba (Republican): 'It frightens one to see into what hands the Republic has fallen.'"

On October 10, *ABC* sums up the work of the Cortes Constituyentes:—

"What work has the Cortes Constituyentes done? It has sacrificed all to the interests and passions of a party and a sect. It has created a Constitution impossible of being carried out and repudiated by many republicans and condemned from the first moment to revision. It has torn to pieces the unity of Spain, flagellated the religious sentiments of the nation, and furiously persecuted the Church. It has disorganized national economy, ruined agriculture and commerce, trampled underfoot ownership of property, voted a system of agrarian reform impossible of realization. It has seriously damaged the country's finances by imposing enormous expenses, has approved and applauded the most exceptional and vexatious laws, relegated to a subordinate position the Tribunals of Justice, expelled officials, confiscated properties, deported many innocent men and used methods of repression which culminated in the murders of Casas Viejas. The nation owes to the Cortes all this havoc and ruin which will never be forgotten."

Calvo Sotelo said a few days ago in Paris that:—

"The new Government has no programme beyond a merely negative one: its mission is that of a gravedigger to inter the Cortes. . . . Spain will decide in 1934 between dying under Parliamentary cajolery or rising from the dead again over the débris of parliamentary government."

The conflict on November 19 will be mainly between the Socialists and the parties of the Right.

Socialists.—In the last Cortes Socialist control was supreme until its ignorance and fanaticism ruined it. *El Socialista*, of Madrid, said on September 14: "Spanish Socialism to-day is stronger than ever."

The result of the municipal elections in April and those to the Tribunal of Guarantees a few weeks ago, hardly support the optimistic dictum of *El Socialista* and

the next elections will, no doubt, speak with no uncertain voice on the subject of Socialism and its republican supporters.

Parties of the Right.—To attempt to foretell what may happen in Spain is always a risky proceeding, but present indications are that the Socialistic domination which has brought ruin to the country will receive its death blow.

In the present Cortes the voting power of the Conservative Right is very small, and therefore they can do little until the new elections give them such representation as will make their weight felt in proportion to the feeling in the country.

The Conservative Right consists of the Tradicionalists, C.E.D.A. and the Monarchists, to put them in the order of their age.

The Tradicionalists represent the old Carlists with their great traditional loyalty and support of the Church: it controls considerable funds and is particularly strong in the north and north-east of Spain under the leadership of the Conde de Rodezno.

C.E.D.A. (Spanish Confederation of the Right) is a grouping of several Conservative organizations, the largest being Acción Popular with over a million members. It represents men of different political views, but whose agrarian interests are the same. It now has representatives in every town and village in Spain and is led by Gil Robles, a young Professor of Salamanca University, of vigorous personality who is destined to play a big part in the future political life of the country.

The Monarchist Party has only been recently allowed to organize as such. It is under the able leadership of Antonio Goicoechea, a strong and brilliant advocate with great political experience. It is receiving strong support everywhere.

In addition to these is a strong party of Republicans who are disgusted with the present Government, and are more likely to support parties of the Right than to go further to the Left.

The main principles or "planks" of each party of

the Right are almost identical, and were concisely summed up for the Monarchists by Antonio Goicoechea on September 16, in a speech at Santander :—

(1) Equal rights for all.

(2) Liberty of instruction in schools and suppression of forms of instruction ordered by the present Government.

(3) Abolition of the laws of persecution against the Church and re-establishment of the religious orders dissolved or expelled.

(4) Absolute suppression of all socialization of property and industry.

(5) Revision of the Constitution.

He adds that the Socialist Government was illegal in its origin and was not born of the will of the people, because it is the country people who are the true representatives of Spain and not the anarchist crowds of the cities.

It has therefore become obvious that, with main principles which were almost identical, the only solution for the three parties of the Right was the union of their interests in order to utilize their combined strength in future elections. The matter has been under careful consideration for six months, and the Spanish press announce, on October 11, that the parties of the Right have combined their forces and formed a central committee to co-ordinate and control their plans.

Fascism.—A staunch Republican stated to the writer that the Republicanism that has existed with modifications since the French Revolution is dead. A few weeks ago the same note was struck in the French Chamber, when two Deputies revolted from the Socialist leadership of M. Blum, telling him that Marxism was out of date, inapplicable to present conditions, and that Fascism was the only alternative for Young France. This revolt will have considerable effect in Spain, because it is common knowledge that the French Socialist Party has dominated the Azaña Government since 1931. It was largely due to the money and organization provided through Amsterdam and Paris that the Republic was born, and large French loans since have helped it to exist.

The psychological effect of a militant policy will

always inevitably lead to the creation, sooner or later, of a similar attitude in its opponents, just as the gangster methods already pursued will lead to similar methods to counteract them. Young men require something more virile and energetic than the usual peaceful policy of political organizations. The example of Italy, Germany, and what is now proceeding in Austria, has already had its effect on Spain.

For some months an important development has forced itself upon the attention of the Spanish people—Fascism.

Three months ago there was a feeling of opposition to the idea of Fascism, and it was believed that the political organizations of the Right in themselves might supply the alternative; but the idea is growing rapidly that more militant methods are necessary. In this respect it is interesting to consider what Gil Robles said on September 14. He had just returned from Germany, where he went to study the Nazi organization, following on a previous visit to Italy. He considers that the danger of Fascism is that it is nourished on a pantheistic science leading to the deification of the State at the expense or annihilation of the individual. He reprobates violence, which has been held up as a standard or rallying cry, but he admits and declares that he will be the first to practise it in order to defeat any attack on legitimate rights. Apart from this, there is much in Fascism that he approves of, as its origin and accentuation is eminently popular and definitely anti-Marxist. He considers it difficult but not impossible that it should be established in Spain in a form specially suited to the country. The recent Congress in Nuremburg evidently created a great impression on his mind, and if Fascism is established on lines suitable to Spain the accession to its ranks of the party led by Gil Robles will be of signal importance to the future.

Fascism to-day is more generally discussed than it was even a month ago, and there are now many men in all parties, except the extreme Left, who are contemplating the possibility where three months ago they did not.

The Spanish Press.—All honour to the Spanish Press of Madrid and the Provinces. These papers, many old-established and with great traditions, have maintained the honour and the highest standard of journalism by publishing the truth with fearlessness, courtesy and without exaggeration, in spite of fines, suppression, imprisonment and attacks from every quarter. After the Sanjurjo rebellion, August 10, 1932, over one hundred newspapers in Madrid and the Provinces were suppressed for periods ranging from one to four months, and during that time the staffs were maintained and paid in many cases; that this was no light burden can be understood when it is realized that the cost to *ABC* alone was over 2,000,000 pesetas, or, at the then rate of exchange, about £100,000.

El Sol, the most influential supporter of the Left ceased its activities on that behalf and is now trying to recover its lost circulation and influence by adopting a more moderate policy. But the most severe blow to Republicanism is the defection, published on October 14 and just received, of the editor of the *Heraldo de Madrid*, who *inter alia* in a long letter of resignation says :—

> "There remains but to have nothing to do with democracy. The Government of the people by the people beyond being an oratorical topic for a rural meeting, is foolishness and stupidity. The dilemma to-day is Moscow or Berlin. . . . The mere possibility that my country might one day be in the hands of Largo Caballero, Cordero & Co. makes me tremble. . . . It seems to me that the Republic, *this* Republic, has been one of the greatest misfortunes suffered by my country. . . . It is possible that this attitude of mine may be my ruin professionally, but I am not going to exchange the peace of my conscience and serenity of spirit for a piece of bread."

Some amusement has been caused in Spain by a small section of the English Press which has compared Azaña to "Hercules" and even "Ulysses," and, however true the comparison may be, the hope is devoutly expressed that it may be made complete by his emulating the prolonged wanderings of the latter gentleman!!

San Sebastian, October, 1933.

Lament for the Makers: New Style

By Freda C. Bond

THESE are the makers, these—
Darkening the pavements as they crawl
About the City and Whitehall,
Making history, fortunes, laws.
Why should we mourn for these?
We hear their hurried tread
On the hard pavements, coming and going,
Laws, fortunes, history, swelling and growing—
You must mourn the dead.

When the lawyer was made, a woodman died,
When the merchant was made, a shepherd died,
When the Under-Secretary was made, a poet died.
You must mourn for them, as they,
The makers, mourn their dead.

For which of them escapes the day
When all his making turns to bitterness
And in his urban bones
The buried farmer groans?
Then the speech of men is less
Than the faint shudder of the ripening wheat,
The grasshopper upon the Royal Exchange
Becomes a burden, and the street
Rings hollow to the feet
That long to smudge the dew on the wild thyme
Beside the chalky sheep track, and to range
The seaward down.

You see the makers, huddled in the town,
Their black-clad shoulders bent
Over their busy making;
But who shall see their thirsty spirits sent

To the proud, shining plough lands, and to byres
And neat, brown stackyards, slaking
Their draught with the strong flavour of the loam,
The tang of rain-soaked woods and autumn fires,
And all the dear, lost scents of their remembered home.

They feed their flocks on many a phantom hill,
They drive their furrow through a visioned plain,
And though their harvest yields
Harsh fruit and bitter grain,
They shall not cease their husbandry until
They claim their acres in the Elysian fields.

House of Lords Reform

By Victor Raikes, M.P.

IT is commonly admitted that the twentieth century is witnessing the general decline of representative institutions everywhere, but no feature of modern times would appear more remarkable to our old statesmen of the Victorian age than the steadily falling prestige of the once all-powerful British Parliament. It is often said (and with some truth) that the House of Commons needs reform, but in fairness it should be remembered that the revolution which originally upset the balance of our constitution was caused by the passing of the Parliament Act in 1911. Since then, the word Parliament has come, in its popular sense, to mean merely the House of Commons, and men have forgotten that the greatness of our country was founded upon a constitution under which King, Peers and Commons all played their several parts in the carrying on of the administration. The prestige of the monarchy alone survives, in spite of unused prerogatives and the advent of Communism; indeed, no one who lived through the dark ages of August, 1931, can fail to look back with thankfulness and pride to the manner in which His Majesty assumed the hereditary role of leadership and guided a united people safely through the storm.

Although we can agree that, whatever form our future system of government may take, the Crown would be its natural corner-stone, most Englishmen would far sooner rebuild upon the principles of their old constitution than seek salvation in some foreign brand of Fascism which, for all its possible merits, must still be alien to the traditions of the British race.

The destinies of our country are still uncertain, but it may be urged with confidence that the immediate amendment of the Parliament Act is a matter of vital importance in the interests of national security. It should never be forgotten that a clear Socialist majority

under present conditions might spell complete ruin in a single Parliament. Sir Stafford Cripps and other so-called Labour leaders have admitted openly that, provided they can snatch a chance victory at the polls, they propose to revolutionize the State upon their own lines.

We are told that they would pass whatever legislation they liked by Order in Council, that the House of Lords, if obstructive, would be summarily abolished and that the country would speedily enjoy the fruits of full-blooded Socialism.

To put the matter in a nutshell, an all-powerful executive, backed by a subservient House of Commons, could set up a Socialist Dictatorship in the twinkling of an eye, without any regard to the wishes of the nation as a whole. In the days before the passing of the Parliament Act no such programme would have been possible. The Lords' veto could always be imposed to invoke a General Election so that the considered judgment of the voters might be ascertained upon a matter of vital public importance, but that safeguard no longer remains. The most that the Second Chamber can do is to hold up non-financial legislation for two years, while any measure certified by the Speaker to be a Money Bill must be presented for the Royal Assent within three months, whether the Lords approve or not. It might be pertinent to add that the wording of the Parliament Act is phrased loosely enough to permit almost any measure touching finance to come within the definition of a Money Bill, even if its main object is political, such as the proposal for land taxation brought forward by the late Socialist Government.

Under these circumstances a reasonable scheme of constitutional reform appears imperative and the inability of successive post-war governments to tackle the problem reflects poorly upon twentieth-century statesmanship. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that, although most Conservatives, at any rate, have been agreed that the Upper House should possess more

effective powers, the question of the composition of the reformed Chamber has proved a real stumbling block. Scheme after scheme has broken down on account of this, for while some would favour the retention of a substantial hereditary element, others have set their heart upon an elective Senate, and a not insignificant body of opinion would like to see a large proportion of the reformed House nominated for life.

The last serious effort to deal with this matter was made by the joint committee of Peers and Commons, presided over by Lord Salisbury in 1932, which produced the so-called Salisbury Report. After advocating certain amendments to the Parliament Act relating to powers, the committee endeavoured to reach an honourable compromise in regard to personnel by recommending that roughly one half of the reformed House should consist of hereditary peers, selected as representatives by their own order, while the remainder should, at the discretion of Parliament, either be nominated for life or, as an alternative, be chosen for a term of years, through a system of indirect election, by the county and borough councillors of the nation. It was calculated that the new House, including princes of the blood royal, law lords and bishops (for whom about twenty seats should be allocated), would not exceed 320 members, and the committee hoped that their scheme would gain support from all sections of moderate opinion.

Unfortunately, illusions exist only to be destroyed, and, up to the present, the Salisbury Report has found little favour with the Government or the Press, while its proposals, in so far as they relate to personnel, have aroused no great Parliamentary enthusiasm in either House.

As a signatory of the report, the writer of this article would, of course, still be prepared to vote for its recommendations, should they come before Parliament in their original form, but, if it is to be shelved, it is vital that alternative proposals should be put forward at once, and

it may be that bold and drastic action will command more public support than reasoned compromise.

The past few years have clearly shown how difficult it is, even within the ranks of the Conservative party, to get any common ground of agreement regarding personnel, yet, in view of recent Socialist threats, the question of powers assumes so much importance that we might well consider concentrating our immediate energies upon the amendment of the Parliament Act so as to restore some balance and stability to the Constitution. In connection with powers, the Salisbury Report lays down certain suggestions of practical utility relating to (*a*) Money Bills, and (*b*) non-financial legislation, which are worthy of careful consideration.

(a) *Money Bills.*—We have seen that any measure which has a financial clause attached to it may, under the loose wording of the Parliament Act, be certified by the Speaker as a Money Bill, after which it can be passed into law within three months in spite of the Upper Chamber. This defect provides an unscrupulous Government with ample opportunities of defeating the real purpose of the Act by tacking on financial clauses to political measures in order to bring them within the existing definition of Money Bills. It is proposed under the Salisbury Report that the clause in the Parliament Act dealing with finance be redrafted in such a way as to permit only measures certified by the Speaker as *primarily* intended for revenue purposes to be passed into law without any veto from the House of Lords. Under such an arrangement the legitimate power of the House of Commons over financial matters would remain unchallenged, while the evils of tacking and other forms of disguised legislation would be checked. The suggestion has also been made that the Speaker should have a small joint committee of both Houses to assist him in his task, but, provided that the definition of a Money Bill is sufficiently watertight, it is perhaps doubtful whether the additional safeguard would prove of much value in practice.

(b) *Non-financial Legislation.*—The Salisbury Report has provided that in place of the existing suspensive veto for two years (a wholly useless safeguard in the event of a rampant Socialist majority) the reformed Upper Chamber should be given power in the case of a clear majority of the whole House as distinct from the number actually voting, to refer back any measure of great controversial importance until a subsequent General Election has revealed the considered will of the people.

If, however, we propose to tackle powers without any immediate reform of personnel, it is doubtful whether the nation would be prepared to give the existing members of the House of Lords a completely free hand to hold up legislation merely by passing a vote in their own Chamber, so the wiser plan might be either to insert a clause by which the Upper House could refer dangerous measures to a referendum of the electors for their decision, or else to adopt the expedient of a joint sitting in cases where the two Houses were unable to agree. If the latter course were taken, the Bill under dispute could be placed before a joint committee of both Chambers and, although the representatives of the Lords might neutralize the Government majority in the Commons, it is unlikely that they would face the responsibility of blocking any measure which appeared really to embody the wishes of the nation. If, at the ensuing General Election, the voters were to return the Government of the day the rejected Bill would at once pass into law automatically by resolution of both Houses. As the very existence of the Upper Chamber must finally depend upon its prestige in the country, there would be little danger of factious opposition, and clashes with the Commons would seldom occur in practice except when the Government happened to exceed its mandate.

The plain facts of the case at issue may be summed up in a very few words. There can be no security for the lasting welfare of our people under the present party

system with all its obvious dangers unless we can (*a*) clearly define the legitimate scope of a Money Bill, and (*b*) devise machinery by which the nation will be protected against the setting up of an irresponsible Socialist Dictatorship on revolutionary lines.

It is for these reasons that the immediate amendment of the Parliament Act becomes a matter of first-rate importance, but although the question of personnel could be reserved for the time being, it should not be shelved indefinitely. The size of the Upper House should be reduced to convenient proportions as soon as possible, and the peerage might well be asked to select about 150 or even 200 members from their own order to serve as representatives in the Second Chamber. We should thus retain the cream of the hereditary nobility and, at the same time, remove from the legislature those persons who, for lack of inclination or other reasons, fail to perform their official duties to-day. Law lords and bishops would, of course, keep their existing quota of seats until the final method of selecting the outside element had been determined after due consideration. In regard to the wider problem, it may well be that the disadvantages pertaining both to elective and nominative peers will in the long run compel reformers to study afresh the possibilities of functional representation. A House possessing both prestige and efficiency cannot be suddenly created either by the manipulations of political wire-pullers or by the votes of the populace; it must come of natural growth, and, if the composition of the Upper Chamber is to be settled on a permanent basis, it may be necessary to evolve a scheme which will avoid alike democratic shibboleths and patchwork imitations of foreign senates. A Chamber which contained representatives of all sections of the community and which could express the views of the hereditary nobility, the churches, the learned and artistic professions, the employers of labour, the trade unions and the co-operative societies, might well command that universal respect

which existing Parliamentary institutions find so hard to obtain.

It is, however, far beyond the scope of this article to draw a complete picture of what the future House of Lords might be. The immediate peril lies in the existence of a weak Second Chamber at a time when an unpremeditated revolutionary majority in the Commons might lead to the destruction of everything which the British race holds dear, and it is our duty as citizens to urge the Government to tackle this matter without delay. If our leaders would spare a little of the energy, so freely spent in preparing an apparently unworkable constitution for India, in the interests of the national security at home, they would earn our gratitude and deserve our unwavering support.

The Calahuaya's Curse

A Ruined House in the Andes and its Sinister Story

By Lt.-Col. P. H. Fawcett, D.S.O. (The Lost British Explorer).

"THE Señor will pardon me, but it is better to sleep in the Tambo. This place has an evil reputation."

We had arrived towards sundown at the small Indian village of Yani on the Sorata-Mapiri trail over the Bolivian Andes. The mules were thoroughly tired. All the morning they had climbed the steep approach to the Sorata Pass at 16,000 feet, advancing latterly but ten yards at a time to pause for deep breaths. When the glorious panorama of snow-covered Illampu and Sorata had been blotted out by the precipitous descent into the valley of the Yani they had been forced to jump from boulder to boulder on stretches of this rough trail, managing their three hundredweight of cargo with extraordinary skill. They had been turned loose to roll and feed abundantly in a stone-walled corral. The party had busied itself in arranging camp beds in the one fleasome and grubby upper chamber of the Tambo, or rest house. The *arrieros*, in accordance with habit, piled the mule blankets for themselves beneath a rickety wooden verandah and put their pot of chalona and rice on to boil.

I had fixed up my hammock across the corner of a half ruined house adjoining the Tambo, because it happened to offer facilities and a sufficiency of shelter, and, having accomplished this, had sought out the Corregidor, or local headman, for fowls and eggs. He proved to be a Spanish Bolivian with a strong dash of Indian, intelligent, and probably about thirty years of age, though appearances are deceptive amongst these people. After a successful deal he had returned with me

to the Tambo, and on passing the ruined house had observed my hammock. To please him I shifted it.

With the sun behind the mountains it was distinctly cold. The others turned in after dinner, but feeling very much awake myself in the mountain air, I strolled along to the Corregidor's house with a bottle of Jamaica rum.

It was a rude shack enough, stone walls and a mud floor. One or two pots in a blackened alcove, a plank bed with a heap of blankets of native manufacture, a muzzle-loading gun, two hide-covered boxes ornamented with brass nails, and a heap of potatoes and sacks in a corner, relieved the walls. A saddle with its trappings hung from a peg driven between the stones, and several dried carcases of sheep were suspended from the beams. A rough chair covered with worn hide stood by a solid-looking table on which two candles were guttering in empty beer bottles. I was accommodated with the chair, and one of the ornamental boxes was drawn up to the table.

"Not a great abode, but the Señor is welcome. To the health of the Señor! It is not often that a Gringo has condescended to honour this poor house. Cane juice of Jamaica? Ah! better than our kachasa. The Señor knows it perhaps? Poison! No, Señor, it keeps off the fever. Life is hard and we are poor in these mountains. What has the Indian got but the coca and the kachasa? Si, Señor, there are many Indians in these valleys. Some work on the fincas of patrones, others for themselves, Dios alone knows how. But there is always gold and it buys the kachasa. The Indians will not tell where they find it. In their hearts, Señor, they venerate the Inca, and they have their chiefs and secret gatherings in the mountains, and not all the padres in Bolivia or Peru can stop them worshipping the Sun. They say the Inca will return again before long and demand his gold.

"The Señor will take coffee? It is good this coffee of the mountains. But there is not so much of it in these days. It costs much to bring out and the cobras are

plentiful. Lower down, Señor, the cascavel is so numerous that in many places the people will not pick the berry and the plantations have been swallowed up by the montaña.

"I have been here always, Señor. My father came here to work the gold for the Compania. They were Gringos (Englishmen or Americans) and business was good, but my father told me the Indians stole much gold. Tiene razón, Señor, this rum of Jamaica is good with the coffee. The story of the house? It is curious, and a Gringo perhaps would not believe it. But we of the mountains see may curious things which we cannot explain.

"It was, perhaps, some thirty years ago, Señor, that my father came here to work for the Compania, when all these ruined walls were houses and there were many empleados. Gringo ingenieros (engineers) directed the work. The Señor will see the piles of stones in the morning. In the ruined house where the Señor wished to sleep dwelt the capitaz of the Indians, an honest man, Señor, and a strong one. No one knew whence he had come, but he had in him, they say, the blood of the Indian and the Spaniard, a hard man and a silent one. Some say that he had killed men in the south. He had with him a woman and a child. The woman had come from the village of the Calahuayas, twenty leagues to the north near Pelechuco. The Señor knows the Calahuayas? They are in league with the devil, Señor, and they know the secrets of the herbs and can cure mules as no other can. It is a bold man who offends them, Señor, for their curse is terrible and the future is to them an open book. The woman was not a Calahuaya herself, but she had lived with them. She was fair skinned, like the Gringos, and was full of pride. The golden ornaments that she wore made her good to look at. But she was faithful, Señor, and if she looked at others and liked to see the hot blood in their eyes, it was with no evil intent but as all women will who can. She had one child, a daughter,

fair as herself, which was strange, for her man was a mestizo and dark. They say she was of the royal blood of the Incas; and the Indians, it is true, treated her with respect.

"Now and again an old Calahuaya would come over the mountains and stay in the house. Some said that he came for the stolen gold, others that he was the father of the woman. No one spoke to him, however, for they were afraid of the powers of these people and feared the curse.

"The Señor may have heard, perhaps, that some twenty years ago there was trouble for the Government in the valley of the Mapiri, in the region they call Challana. Its people were Indians of the Yungas, and others who had escaped from the law. They had refused to pay taxes or to allow the Government officials to enter their lands. Troops were sent to enforce the imposts. It happened that a regiment on the march to Mapiri halted for some days at this village. The officers were entertained by the Gringos, and there was much feasting and drinking. The Colonel of the regiment, Señor, was half Indian, an ugly and a boastful man, and he had fastened his eyes upon the Calahuaya woman. I do not know if that is why he stayed so long, but these officers are ever gallant in love, Señor, and have little scruple in securing their ends. The Colonel of a regiment can do what he pleases, no one dare oppose. There are many tales of their abuses in the interior. I tell the story as my father told it to me, for I was very young at the time.

"One evening the Colonel was drunk, and he sent soldiers to the house to fetch the woman. But the door was barred, for the man knew the ways of these people and threatened to kill anyone who entered. But many soldiers came, and having broken down the door, the man was seized, and after being given six hundred lashes was thrown into the calaboose. Si, Señor, the Gringos protested, but what could they do? That devil would have lashed them too, for he had many armed men.

"In the morning, Señor, the dead bodies of the woman and the Colonel were found on the floor of the house. The calaboose was empty and the child had gone. No one has seen them since. There was a great fuss, Señor, and the soldiers destroyed many houses, but the regiment marched away and those who escaped the tertiana were massacred in the forest of Challana.

"The Indians say that a curse had been placed upon the regiment and the mine. It seemed so. For soon afterwards the mine was closed. The Indians would no longer work. Yet they say that there is still much gold. The Señor may see in the morning how the works end suddenly and without apparent reason.

"No, Señor, that is not all. I, myself, saw the Colonel dead upon the floor, and I too saw what happened later, for I have been Corregidor since my father died many years ago. There are others here who know that what I tell is true.

"It was, Señor, only a few years ago, that two officers came here from the Beni. They were both suffering from the beginnings of that disease of the montaña they call beri-beri, walking with a certain difficulty. For the only cure is the Altiplano. The house is as the Señor has seen it, a ruin without door or windows, and with a portion of the roof fallen in, for it had never been inhabited since the tragedy of that night, and much of the woodwork had gone into other buildings. I visited the officers, Señor, and saw to their mules. It is my duty. They had arrived late at Yani, for the trail is difficult and there are many cuestas. I heard later what had happened. As they reached the village and dismounted at the Tambo, they saw that the old house alongside was illuminated, and that an Indian girl was standing at the door twisting thread. She was beautiful and had many golden ornaments. Officers are ever the same, Señor. They tossed a coin to determine which should court the maiden. The loser came to my house for company, and kachasa, and we talked over the miseries

of the Beni and those farther rivers all are so unwilling to visit. He told me nothing of his companion, and I supposed that he was tired and had gone to sleep. The officer slept here, on the bed you see there, saying that he had no baggage, and I lay on blankets upon the floor.

"When I opened the door next morning, the sun was shining up the valley. I awoke the officer for coffee, and together we walked to the Tambo. The officer stopped outside the old house, Señor, and stared at it. 'Last night,' he said, 'this was not ruined; there was a door, and it was open, a light was inside, and a chola.' My friend went—Señor, he looked in at the doorway and called hoarsely. On the mud floor amongst the fallen tiles and rubbish, stretched out exactly where I had seen the Colonel many years before, was his friend—dead. The face was drawn, as if with fear or pain, and the eyes were open and staring. Señor, I do not understand these things. It may have been one of those strange diseases of the Beni, the beri-beri-galopanti, or such as take men suddenly and without warning. I do not know, but, Señor, it was a strange thing, for this man was the only son of the Colonel.

"We carried the body to Sorata, a difficult burden, and there the good priest buried it and said Mass. I told him, Señor, what I have told you, but he bade me keep silent about it, for the ways of the Calahuayas are the ways of the devil and there are many things which it is not good for us to understand and with which it is better not to meddle.

"Buenas noches, Señor, and for the bottle of Jamaican kachasa, Dios le pagara. Hasta Mañana."

Foreign Affairs

By Sir Charles Petrie

AT long last we are back to realities, and as they are the very last things that pacifists and sentimentalists like, these latter are full of forebodings. The same people who testified their devotion to peace by clamouring for hostilities with Japan are now talking glibly of a "preventive war" against Germany. For years it has been almost a commonplace that the League of Nations had more to fear from its friends than from its enemies, and the problem of to-day is to preserve peace against the pacifists. A deliberate attempt is being made by the parties of the Left in this country and in France to turn the international situation to their own advantage, and to use the blunders of Hitlerite Germany as a lever to replace upon their pedestals the fallen idols of Socialism and Democracy.

That the German Government has shown itself most remarkably maladroit is obvious, but it has only done what any administration in any country would have done in the circumstances, as Mr. Vernon Bartlett pointed out in his now famous broadcast. The Disarmament Conference has been a farce from the beginning, and Hitler has expressed his opinion of it in a manner more forcible than polite. All this does not mean that we should stand idly by while Germany builds up her pre-war military machine. Far from it. But it does mean that we should not be rushed by interested parties into adopting an attitude that is inconsistent with British interests. Do not let us allow M. Benes to make fools of our politicians again as he did over Manchuria. The prestige of the "New Diplomacy" is not worth the bones of a Boy Scout.

Sir John Simon

THE chief responsibility for what has taken place rests with Sir John Simon. By his efforts to create an anti-German front he left Germany no choice but

humiliation or defiance. This procedure was a violation of the principles underlying the Four Power Pact. At the last moment Italy and the United States refused to associate themselves with this move, but by then the damage had been done. Once more the Foreign Secretary has shown that his forensic dexterity is not an asset when applied to international politics.

That Sir John Simon did not realize what he was doing is an aggravation, not a mitigation, of his offence. According to the *Sunday Times*, when the German decision was announced at Berlin, he " was presiding at a reception of British Journalists, and expressing the utmost optimism and confidence that a successful issue would be arrived at." During the whole of the discussions the Foreign Secretary has been in the closest touch with Mr. Arthur Henderson, whose utterances suggest that he is more concerned to avenge the overthrow of the German Socialists than to advance the cause of world peace for its own sake. The electorate did not reject Mr. Henderson, and everything for which he stands, two years ago to entrust him with the control of British foreign policy through the agency of Sir John Simon.

The Last Straw

THE Foreign Secretary has acted precisely in the same manner towards Germany as he did a year ago towards Japan. On that occasion, it will be remembered, Lord Hailsham openly boasted in the House of Lords that the successor of Castlereagh and Canning went to Geneva without any policy save that which the League might adopt. M. Benes, the representative of a country that had no interest in the Far East, found a policy in a headstrong support of China, and the League agreed, as did the British Foreign Secretary. The result was that Japan left Geneva, which was duly shocked, and proceeded to consolidate her position in Asia. Sir John secured his verdict with all his accustomed skill, but there was no means of enforcing it.

His attitude towards the Disarmament problem has been the same. He has allowed his colleagues in the National Government to reduce British armaments to a mere skeleton scale, and in consequence our representatives at the Conference have had nothing with which to bargain. In addition, Sir John Simon's tenure of the Foreign Secretaryship has been marked by the relinquishment of the Irak Mandate without any safeguards for the Assyrians, the maladroit handling of the oil dispute with Persia, and the humiliating exchange of notes with the United States over the Debt instalment of December, 1932. This latest blunder is the last. It is certain that neither the Empire nor the world can stand any more.

The Next Step

WHAT has to be done now is to fall back on the Four Power Pact, and if ever humanity had cause to be grateful to any one statesman it is to Signor Mussolini for having provided a means of escape from the dangerous futilities of the Disarmament Conference. Article 3 of the Pact runs as follows:—

> The high contracting parties undertake to make every effort to ensure the success of the Disarmament Conference, and, should questions which particularly concern them remain in suspense on the conclusion of that Conference, they reserve the right to re-examine these questions between themselves under the present agreement with a view to ensuring their solution through the appropriate channels.

Hitler will clearly obtain an overwhelming majority at the coming elections, and the four Powers can then meet to discuss the situation. There is no need for panic merely because the League of Nations has received what our American friends term "a kick in the pants." Mr. Arthur Henderson may find himself out of a job, and thus be compelled to spend more time on the Front Opposition Bench in the uncongenial company of Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Maxton. For the rest, the Four Power Pact contains all the provisions

that are necessary for the preservation of peace in Europe.

The corollary of this is that Great Britain and Italy must henceforth work more closely together than they have hitherto done. We are the co-guarantors of Locarno, and as such have a right to make representations in Paris and Berlin. Not the least among puzzling parts of Sir John Simon's policy is that he has not taken advantage of Signor Mussolini's desire to collaborate with this country. To this is primarily due the most unfortunate attitude of France to the Four Power Pact.

The Future of the League

MEANWHILE the League of Nations is in a parlous plight. Of the Great Powers, four, i.e. the United States, Germany, Russia and Japan, are now outside, and it is little more than the alliance which won the war. The withdrawal of Japan and Germany means that the smaller States will in future exercise more influence at Geneva, and as they have been the principal cause of international unrest for the last ten years, this development is not reassuring.

This deplorable situation is the result of three things, the quest of compromise rather than of justice, the persistent refusal to face facts, and the absurd insistence upon the theoretical equality of all nations. The League has failed every time that it has had to deal with a problem of the first importance. Unfortunately, a confession of failure on the part of the world's statesmen is most unlikely, and instead, we shall probably have the decaying corpse of the new diplomacy poisoning the air for several years more. As the late Lord Salisbury once wrote, " The commonest error in politics is sticking to the carcases of dead policies."

The Conservative Conference

ALTHOUGH domestic affairs figured most prominently upon the somewhat colourless agenda at the

Conservative Conference at Birmingham last month, it was clear that the resolution which appealed most to the delegates was that moved by Lord Lloyd calling upon the Government to take action with regard to Imperial Defence. Lord Lloyd, who received an ovation to which the published reports did scant justice, was ably supported by Sir William Davison, Mr. Amery, and Mr. Winston Churchill, and the resolution was carried unanimously amid an acclamation that was not accorded to any other motion.

The most satisfactory feature of the Conference was the decided swing to the Right in foreign affairs, and both pacifism and internationalism were decidedly at a discount. In view of the fact that no member of the Government had the courage to speak on Lord Lloyd's resolution, the statement of Mr. Baldwin that Great Britain would stand by her obligations under the Locarno Pact was remarkably unconvincing. Neither on sea, land, nor in the air are we in a position to carry out our commitments, and if a *casus fœderis* arose under Locarno the whole burden would have to be borne by our Italian ally. At the beginning of the last war we put seven divisions into the field; to-day it is doubtful if we could put two. Mr. Baldwin made no reference to this fact in his speech.

The Far East

THE repercussions of the League's attitude towards the Sino-Japanese quarrel have not been slow in making themselves felt. The first result, of course, was to encourage the Chinese, who thought the opinion of Geneva meant something, to prolong a resistance that was hopeless from the beginning, and so they lost a good deal more territory to Manchukuo than would otherwise have been the case. The consequence of all this has been to strengthen the military party in Japan to such an extent that at any moment the existing Constitution may be overthrown. The League has thus placed the

future of the Far East in the hands of those whom it was at such pains to condemn.

When Geneva so recklessly espoused the cause of China we were told that the latter's boycott of Japanese goods must bring Tokyo to its knees ere long, but the latest returns show an increase in the export trade of Japan which no other country in the world can rival. To some extent this is doubtless due to the fall in the exchange value of the yen, but the boycott has clearly been quite ineffective even where it has been in operation. To put the matter bluntly, the League has backed the wrong horse, and has placed its members, notably Great Britain, in a very difficult situation.

Great Britain and Japan

THE League of Nations has pledged its members not to recognize Manchukuo, and has thus committed them to hostility to Japan. Is the National Government prepared, at the bidding of Geneva, to perpetuate the state of affairs which is detrimental to the true interests of Great Britain? We are more concerned with the Far East than any other European Power, and Japan is the other predominant Power in that quarter of the globe. Peace in the East can only be preserved if Great Britain and Japan co-operate; it is Great Britain's friendship alone which will enable Japan's statesmen to guide her destinies along a safe path.

The plain course of the Government is to recognize Manchukuo forthwith, and then come to an understanding with Japan. Whether we like it or not, she is the mistress of Western Asia, and nothing we can do will weaken her position there. In these circumstances we must place the interests of peace before the *amour propre* of the League.

The Assyrian Problem

THE importance of events elsewhere has tended to obscure the very delicate situation which has arisen with regard to the Assyrian minority in Irak. The old

home of the Assyrians was in the Southern Hakkiari mountains, in Asiatic Turkey, but as they, being Christians, assisted the Allies during the war, they have been dispossessed by the Turks. In consequence, they were allowed to settle in Irak, where the Government of that country promised to provide land for them, and "to devise a system of administration for them which should ensure to them the utmost possible freedom from interference." The British High Commissioner also gave an assurance that Great Britain would procure the fulfilment of these promises.

Such was the position when we relinquished the Irak Mandate without, it should be noted, requiring any safeguards from Baghdad for the people whom we had promised to protect. Since then the position of the Assyrians has gone from bad to worse, until a few months ago they came into collision with Irak troops, in circumstances that are still somewhat obscure, and there was a heavy loss of life. Whatever the rights and wrongs of this particular encounter may be, it is clear that the British Government has a definite responsibility towards the Assyrians, and that this responsibility is being shirked.

A Point of View

IN this connection, a correspondent writes :—

> "The present attitude of His Majesty's Government appears to be :—
>
> "1. That the Assyrian Patriarch is chiefly to blame for what has happened (and will be useful as a scapegoat). His attempts to procure the implementation of solemn promises to his people are to be regarded as obstruction. He should have accepted an allowance for himself, and abandoned them to their fate.
>
> "2. That the Assyrian clansmen placed themselves very seriously in the wrong by failing to surrender to Iraki troops at the Tigris crossing (with a view to their subsequent massacre).
>
> "3. That Iraki officials have acted somewhat in excess of their proper duties in treacherously massacring hundreds of unarmed Assyrians."

On Friday, September 22, 1933, there appeared in the *Times* a letter urging (1) that H.M.G. insist upon provision for the survivors of the massacre by the Irak Government. (2) The appointment of an International Commission. (3) Personal liberty and financial assistance for the Assyrian Patriarch. (4) A final settlement of the problem. The letter was signed by an Anglican Diocesan Bishop, by two Peers, by four Members of Parliament, and by nine other persons of standing. It had been at the office of the *Times* for some time, and it was not published before urgent representations had been made to the Editor. It appeared in the smallest print on a back page, greater prominence being given to letters on "Antiquities of Cyprus," "Humane Rabbit Trapping," "The Flight of Storks" and other such matters.

On Armistice Day

the War will have been over for fifteen years. To the older generation its memory is growing dim, to the younger generation it is a story of the past. But—the men of St. Dunstan's can never forget; their memories can never fade.

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Fresh Fields

By G. C. Heseltine

THE men who suffer the effects of the economic crisis most severely may be divided into two main classes: (*a*) the wage-slave class, which covers roughly all those who must possess a State insurance card, and (*b*) those whom it has been proposed to compel to possess a State insurance card in order to make solvent the insolvent State insurance system. These may be roughly classified again as (*a*) the industrial workers, including those for whom there is no work; and (*b*) the "black-coated" workers and professional men who can just manage to live on their own earnings. Among these are men who find that they must eat less or eat poorer (as distinct from less luxurious) food, wear shoddier (as distinct from less expensive) clothes, and live under more cramped or squalid conditions. When that sort of suffering becomes acute, as it has become in all the great industrial manufacturing countries, those who find nothing being done nationally in mitigation of their suffering are sooner or later driven to do something for themselves. Hence, in America, in Germany and in England, there is on the one hand an underground revolutionary movement, and on the other a movement to abandon the bankrupt industrial system for intensive production of necessaries from the land, and for a greater measure of national economic self-sufficiency and independence.

In America, where industrialism has made most rapid progress and unemployment is on the largest scale, there is an enormous drift back to the land. According to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, there has been a net gain of two million settlers on American farms since 1930, and the drift is accelerating steadily. One of the first acts of the Hitler regime in Germany has been to pass a Land Bill to provide for the establishment and preservation of a large peasantry in Prussia. In England, where the industrial condition is most chronic and the difficulties of agricultural settlement are greatest, a

determined effort has been made in the past few years by certain bodies, such as the Society of Friends, to provide allotments and means by which unemployed might turn to the land for food and healthy living; there has been a still-born effort by the Government, in the Agricultural Land (Utilization) Act, 1931, to assist settlement on the land; the Home and Empire Settlement Bill has been introduced more recently "to make provision for the settlement of persons on the land in the United Kingdom . . . and for purposes connected therewith." Other organizations again, such as the Catholic Land Associations, are working small farms as training grounds for unemployed men and potential farmers; others, for example the Marydown Farming Association, Limited, have been formed for the purpose of establishing small family farms and holdings on a subsistence basis.

The phrase "back to the land" is now frequently heard, and it is no longer associated with fanatical simple-lifers. The conservation and development of domestic agriculture is slowly coming to be accepted as a sound first principle of national economy. There is, moreover, a growing distaste for the evil concomitants of the bankrupt manufacturing industries—a dislike of the monotonous effects of mass-production, the levelling of labour to a uniform, less-skilled standard, the loss of status, the drabness and lack of variety, lack of green, in the hives of industry, and the squalor of the slums. The reaction has already set in. Normal men want a more open and natural life, enjoying the infinite variety of which the mechanized industries are properly a part, but now far too large a part. The reaction is towards a more normal balance between urban and rural life, and therefore, in present circumstances, towards a re-population of the countryside and the revival of agriculture.

The problem of the unemployed worker of the insured class who wants to work on the land, and those who would rather see him work on the land than rot in the

city, bristles with practical difficulties. They are such that the man himself cannot surmount unaided, for since he has been pauperized he lacks capital and freedom of movement. He must stay where his dole is, for he cannot eat without it. He cannot walk into the country and get work and food there, because there is already a large idle population of agricultural workers in front of him. He must get land or be provided with land to work for himself. That needs capital and it needs training, which needs more capital. Government action alone can do anything on an adequate scale to remove the obstacles between the unemployed man who *wants* to work on the land and the unemployed land that waits for him to work upon it. It is a matter of organization, troublesome and perhaps a little complicated, but not beyond the capacity of our brilliant civil servants and agricultural experts. If you subsidize labour that is idle, you can subsidize the same labour growing its own food. Such food is, under these conditions, produced at the cost of the seed alone, that is, nearly for nothing. The fictitious issues raised by economists on the disturbance of price levels by cheapening food in this way can be ignored. The production of primary necessaries cheaply is getting something for nothing, the zenith of economy. Any disturbance of other commodity prices that follows this can be adjusted or left to adjust itself.

The Government does not act in this matter because it is terrorized by economists, with ominous and conflicting warnings, into a blind panic. There is no other rational explanation of the fact that the Government could not afford, *owing to economic stringency*, to continue to support the work of the Society of Friends by which, in 1931–32, 63,000 unemployed men produced food valued at £380,000 at a cost of £30,000, half of which was contributed by the men themselves. A more sensible view has at last prevailed in official circles (after an unnecessary wasteful delay), and the Development Board will renew more active support to the scheme.

The insured workers or would-be workers cannot, in

the main, get back to the land without assistance in the way of organization and capital provided by the State or by philanthropic persons. So far the State has taken no effective action in the matter. The Birmingham Branch of the Distributist League has drawn up a scheme for the settlement of willing and suitable men on the land, based on a capitalization of unemployed relief pay, and there is no doubt that some such scheme is practicable in its general principles, though it may need modification in details. The Leicester City Council has made an attempt to establish ten small holdings for unemployed at a cost of £3,000 raised by voluntary subscriptions. The land belongs to the Corporation and lies three miles from the centre of the city. Each homestead consists of a wooden bungalow (erected at an average cost of £136) for the tenant and his family, and about 4½ acres of land. Each holding is equipped and stocked for pigs and poultry and kitchen garden. The holdings are let to unemployed men at a small rent. Apart from such schemes, the only hope for the man who has no capital and wants to work for his living on the land appears to be through voluntary organizations.

Of these, the Society of Friends Allotment Scheme makes an excellent preliminary training ground. But it does not pretend to supply adequate training for entire subsistence on a holding. The Catholic Land Associations (South of England, Midland, Scottish and other) have obtained farms on which unemployed men, lacking capital for training or maintenance, may work under the guidance of an experienced overseer, and receive agricultural education, with a view to starting on their own. These farms have been established and are supported by voluntary contributions of cash, stock, and equipment, and they have long waiting lists of men anxious to work on them for a bare subsistence rather than remain idle on the dole. These farms can take, as a rule, only single men, because of the lack of capital for maintaining their families, but the Associations plan to provide capital to settle them, as well as other families containing trained

men, on holdings of their own. Such men, when trained, should be eligible for holdings under the Smallholdings Acts (details of which may be obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture; they are given in a booklet "Town to Country," page 66—Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1*s.* 6*d.*).

The most recent enterprise in assisted settlement on the land is the Marydown Farming Association, a registered co-operative society, raising share capital for the purpose of establishing suitable families on holdings under the guidance of official and other experienced agriculturists. The Association acts the part of benevolent landlord in providing holdings on easy terms with ample security of tenure equivalent for all practical purposes to the ideal of ownership. Capital is provided for stock and equipment, and a subsistence allowance is made for a preliminary period. Raw materials are purchased and products marketed on a co-operative basis, and for this purpose the holdings are grouped locally, though the fullest measure of independence and personal responsibility is enjoyed by each family settled. Expert and mutual assistance is available in difficulties and extra capital may be borrowed at need, and for development. The insistence on *subsistence* farming, for the family as a primary unit, and for the group as a secondary unit, reduces the thorny problem of marketing and the necessity for making a money-profit to a minimum. The Association, so far as capital permits, settles suitable families who lack the necessary capital, it can absorb men trained by such bodies as the Catholic Land Associations, and it provides an opening for such men as are able and willing to work for their experience. Those who are interested may obtain further details from the Secretary, Marydown Farming Association Ltd., 49, Limesdale Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex, and details of the work of the Land Associations from the Warden, Old Brown's Farm, Chartridge, Bucks.

The Y.M.C.A. have worked out a scheme for establishing holdings of similar size and nature to those of the Leicester Corporation—5 acres for pigs, poultry and

market garden produce, worked intensively by alternating the land with stock and vegetables. In this case, as in the Marydown Association, the men are given a clear start with no burdens for the first year or two. Associated with this is the Y.M.C.A. "British Boys for British Farms" scheme under the direction of Major Cyril Bavin, O.B.E.

In all these schemes stress is laid on the urgent necessity of selecting suitable men for these pioneer enterprises. Another scheme in operation on a small scale at Mealsgate, Cumberland, has already shown that plenty of unemployed men are to be found willing to undertake the hard work and long hours demanded by these rural experiments, rather than remain idle; and it also seems clear that private investors can be found to provide capital without much difficulty where these schemes are capably organized.

So much for those who are in the helpless position of the State-insured class. The situation differs a little, but not much, for the uninsured workers who have to work for their living as a matter of necessity, without a dole to fall back upon, that is, roughly, the black-coated workers who come between those who are within the scope of the Insurance Act, and those who have independent means. In this class, unemployment and short employment, reduced clientele and reduced incomes, are widespread. Suffering, due to unemployment in these cases, is acute and unrelieved by any state assistance until the last stage of destitution is reached. No account is taken of this in the official returns of unemployment; it is shown in no official report. Then there is the unsettling feature of insecurity, as for example, among journalists where the amalgamations of newspapers and the frantic scramble for new stunts results in frequent dismissals of skilled men of many years' faithful service, in favour of cheap foreign (e.g. American) and young unskilled (e.g. University produced) labour. The same feature of insecurity exists in all large businesses that are impersonal and bureaucratic in their management.

Capable middle-aged men are thrown on to an overcrowded market.

Both from choice and from necessity then, the minds of this second class turn towards living on the land. There they hope to secure, in return for hard work, at least the necessaries of life, and at the same time gain independence, a sense of personal status and responsibility, and a healthy environment for their families. One hears this nowadays as a common topic of conversation, with the problem of ways and means.

Men of this class possess an advantage over the insured workers with the same ambitions, in that they have not had their initiative so deadened by being spoon-fed by the State, and unskilled by the factory. They can gain preliminary acquaintance with the problems they have to face, by reading more widely. They may have some small experience, of wider range than the factory workers', in vegetable or poultry culture as a hobby. They may have the disadvantage, in general, of being physically less fitted for heavy work. But they are still faced with the two main problems of Capital and Training. For those who possess neither, the only hope seems to be in such voluntary organizations as those mentioned above. On the other hand some have a little capital, some have a very small income, not enough to live on but enough to hold off starvation or pay rent and rates. For these the first question that comes to mind is:—How much capital is needed to start a farm or holding?

Almost everybody asks for definite figures as to capital. Misleading figures are frequently given, but they can never be accurate and only very rarely approximately useful. A man must collect them for himself, piecemeal, and make his own estimates. Substantial capital is required, as in any other business in which it is intended to make an honest living, but until a man has enough general knowledge of what he is going to do, to enable him to estimate the required capital for himself, he is not fit to contemplate making a start. He must first have experience or training. The questions of capital and

training are so interdependent that their priority is as debatable as that of the hen and the egg. As you gain some acquaintance with the branch of agriculture you want to tackle, you will learn current prices of raw materials, equipment, land and housing in the district you choose. Obviously much will depend on your housing needs and locality.

The Ministry of Agriculture publication "The Agricultural Output for England and Wales, 1925" (the latest available), after careful warning as to the approximate nature and uncertain value of the estimates, gives the average working capital (exclusive of capital value of land, etc.) required on holdings other than rough grazings as £14 per acre. But this amount varies considerably with the size of the holding, from £19 an acre on holdings up to five acres, falling rapidly to £12 an acre on holdings over 500 acres. If the value of land is added (£31 an acre average, £60 an acre up to five acres, £19 an acre over 500 acres) the total capital required varies from £79 an acre to £31 an acre, average £45 an acre. The average corresponds roughly to holdings of about 100 acres or less, but more than 50. Very roughly £1,400 would be required for a 100 acres holding, which should be bought for £31 an acre (including house and buildings) or rented for (an extimated average of) 35 shillings an acre. These were figures for 1925, they are now less.

The variation so far is wide, but it is made wider still when the variety of holding is taken into consideration. For example, rather more capital is required on a holding that is mainly pasture than on one that is mainly arable. Again the smaller the holding the higher proportion of capital required. The working capital employed on poultry holdings averaged £66 an acre, on fruit and vegetable holdings £37, rising sometimes as high as £80 an acre. So that a ten-acre holding devoted to poultry required as much capital as a 50-acre holding of mixed arable and pasture. On the other hand whilst the average output per acre under crops and permanent grass was valued at £8 10*s*., that on exclusively poultry holdings

was over £60 an acre. Output does *not* mean profit. Before any rough estimates of capital required are attempted from the foregoing figures, it must be remembered that they are eight years old and that they apply to land and workers in working order—they make no allowance for the variable price a novice, even after training, must pay for his experience.

For those who possess some capital, and those who are on other grounds unable to take advantage of the facilities of the voluntary organizations, the first step towards obtaining enough working knowledge of the job to make an adventurous start (remember that agriculture is the most highly skilled of all industries, modern methods containing the accumulated experience of a few thousand years) may be taken in several ways. One way is to get work, hard work and dirty work, in the line you fancy—dairying, arable, fruit, poultry, pigs or market gardening—with a working farmer, if you can. It is not easy to do so because there is a surplus of useful labour in the country and farmers cannot afford to risk the consequences of your ignorance and incompetence. You may have to work for nothing and even pay for your keep. Beware of the farm that lives on its pupils—go, if possible, where you are the only ignoramus.

A second way is to take a course at one of the County Farm Institutes, where you get the benefit of State aid and some of your taxes back. The courses at these Institutes are of varying lengths, from three months to two years (none too long). The terms average thirteen weeks, three terms to the year, and the inclusive fees vary from a minimum of 20s. to 25s. per week for residents within the administrative area of the contributing counties to £2 per week for others, inclusive of tuition, full board and lodging. The courses at these Farm Institutes (which are modern and well-equipped) are mainly practical, and the instructors are generally sound men in close touch with their particular branch of agriculture in the area they serve, and well acquainted with local conditions. Their advice is available free

within their area to any who seek it, whether they have taken the course or not, and they are generally keen to help beginners. The Clerk to the local Agricultural Committee of the County Council will supply particulars of the nearest Farm Institute.

After training (the first essential), a man should know how much land he requires, of what kind, and where. It must be as near as possible to his prospective market, which he must have in view. Personal search of the district, the help of Farm Institute officials or the Agricultural Organizer, is the most useful method. There is no great harm in enlisting the help of local estate agents, provided that full allowance is made for their imaginative enthusiasm for the properties they have for sale, which makes their descriptive powers rival that of lovesick poets. It must be remembered also that they have a special elastic measure of length. Their mile may be anything up to three thousand yards, rarely less than two thousand yards. An advertisement is before me in which a property in the village of Thursley, Surrey, is described as three miles from Godalming. If these peculiarities are borne in mind, a great deal of time and money and exasperation over fruitless journeys will be saved.

When considering markets, the wise would-be peasant will not spend much time on local country markets in their present condition. If he can find and cope with it, the most profitable market is a direct market to consumers, such as he leaves behind in the town. In spite of the proportionately increased cost of marketing in relatively small quantities, the present profits of a series of middlemen allow an ample margin. Certain commodities may have to be marketed through official channels established under a Marketing Scheme. Logically, such schemes will have to secure the producers a fair profit, otherwise there will be trouble of several kinds.

Marketing, however, will not be the first, though it may be the largest concern of the new farmer. He should first secure the production of as much as possible of the

foodstuffs that are needed for home consumption. What can be produced where it can be consumed is, in the main, most profitable to produce, and therefore to be produced first. This applies to vegetables, fruit, eggs, poultry, and possibly milk and pig-products. But there comes a point when the diversity of labour becomes uneconomic. For a small establishment, for example, it may not be practicable to keep cows or pigs, but it will always be economical to produce on the spot the other foods mentioned above. The main branch of agriculture that is adopted will be the source of income for general purposes, taxes, rates, rent, clothing, luxuries, and vices. This will, in present circumstances, involve some measure of specialization. For the new farmer, as at present for any other, stock is the most immediately profitable, cattle (for milk), poultry and pigs. Generally speaking, the smaller the scale of subsistence farming, the more intensive must be the method, and the less practicable the employment of large-scale labour-saving machinery, which in most cases will be precluded by its large capital cost.

The alleged drudgery of the peasant's life that is used as a bogey to frighten would-be peasants is now largely eliminated by the use of modern inventions. The motor for transport, grid electricity for light and power, companies' water and gas, incubators, automatic feeders, etc., mean a large saving of drudgery. There are extremists who would scorn to use such things, having Manichean hatred of them as evil in themselves because of the economic and social evils associated with their production. But few can afford so to handicap themselves in a task already difficult enough. The evils associated with machinery and mass-production will be lessened by a revival of rural life and the restoration of a more normal social balance. Their complete elimination will be a noble and praiseworthy undertaking, with a better chance of success, for the men who have secured for themselves a measure of economic stability outside the industrial system.

Anglo-Japanese Relations

By "R"

THIS paper attempts to review impartially and frankly the relations between Japan and Great Britain during the present century; historical facts reinforced by considerations of Japanese psychology form its background.

It is not yet too late, and therefore of the greater importance, to recall a fundamental factor which made the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (first signed in 1902, renewed and extended in 1905, and again renewed in 1911), something more than a mutually advantageous political Treaty—the factor which was spiritual rather than material. Students of history know well what the material advantages were to each partner: to Great Britain the security of her Eastern possessions, the power to concentrate her naval forces in the North Sea, and an insurance against Russian aggression in India; to Japan the certainty that her national existence would be preserved against Russia (alone or with allies) and the prestige attaching to sworn friendship with England —who thus sponsored her entry into the ranks of the Great Powers. But do students remember the deep gratitude felt towards us by Japan because of our initiative in revising the early "unequal" Treaties, and of our refusal to interfere after the Chinese War?* And, if they remember, do they know of the affection and respect engendered thereby, which were consummated in the marriage-bond of the Alliance? On the English side were to be found friendly interest and admiration; but nothing which could compare with the

* *Vide* Tenniel's cartoon in *Punch*, May 4, 1895, entitled "John stands aloof." Japan and China have just finished a game of cards, and Japan is collecting the stakes; Russia, with France and Germany in the background, is expostulating to England, who has also been watching the game. The following conversation takes place:

"*Russia:* Is *he* to have all this?

John Bull: Well, he's played a square game; *I* don't see any call to interfere."

feelings with which every man, woman, and child in Japan regarded Great Britain.

In remote mountain villages as in the great cities the Union Jack was almost as much in evidence as the Rising Sun. The Emperor (the first non-Christian Knight of the Garter) in his Palace, the bureaucrat in his office, the sailor in his ship, the soldier in his barracks, the merchant in his warehouse, the farmer in his fields, the coolie with his *rikisha*—one and all showed in their several ways with true oriental zeal their love and their trust for the other Island Empire. To have seen with one's own eyes these manifestations is to have seen a rare phenomenon in history—a nation's soul laid bare. This is the spiritual factor which is in danger of being forgotten; if, indeed, it was ever really known and appreciated by any save a small number of English men and women living or travelling in Japan during those early years of the present century.

Any impartial follower of foreign affairs, studying the Foreign Office documents on the origins of the war (published in 1927), cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable fact that in those days the Japanese were absolutely the only people we could depend on. It was, perhaps, "remarkable" that we could trust no other Powers; but not that it was Japan who invariably supported our attitude. It was at once her pleasure and her duty to show her trust in the senior partner; as successive Speeches from the Throne proclaimed in the Imperial Diet, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the basis and cornerstone of her foreign policy. It was with such words, indeed, in 1914, that the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the entry into the Great War of Japan,

> " whose foreign policy is based upon the Alliance,"

in order

> " to ensure peace in the Orient, safeguard the special interests of our Ally, and uphold the spirit of the Alliance."

It has been urged, with some justification, that Japan

might well have played a more active part in the War; yet, putting aside the difficulty her Government would have had in justifying to her people, and in financing, a major naval and military expedition to Europe, and *the restrictions which we ourselves originally placed upon her activities* after she had declared war upon Germany, the fact remains that she gave us naval and financial aid outside the strict letter of the Alliance. Her correct but lukewarm attitude received a notable stimulus in 1918 when a Royal Mission under Prince Arthur of Connaught (his third visit to Japan) arrived in Tokyo with a British Field-Marshal's baton for the Emperor. As in pre-war days, we could trust on securing Japanese adherence to British views; this was clearly shown during the Peace Conference at Versailles.

In spite of the outwardly cordial official relations between the two countries, however, Japanese fears that the Alliance might be denounced at Washington in 1921 proved well founded; the decision was accepted loyally, but only those intimately aware of their psychology, and in close personal contact with representatives of all classes of national life, could appreciate fully the deep resentment and disappointment felt by the Japanese. It required very special efforts on both sides to maintain the spirit of the dead Alliance—a frail ghost indeed compared with the living spirit invoked by the late Count Kato at the beginning of the Great War.

These efforts fortunately were not entirely unsuccessful, and Eastern love of pomp and circumstance gave to the Prince of Wales's visit to Japan, in 1922, to the Duke of Gloucester's Mission with the Garter, in 1929, and to the warm reception in England of members of the Imperial House in 1925 and 1930 (Prince Chichibu, and Prince and Princess Takamatsu) a significance and value that greatly enriched these courtesies. In short, the spirit of the Alliance remained alive. It gained, moreover, unexpected vitality from a class of the community who had been far from enthusiastic some years before:

many British merchants in China realized that Japan was a rock against which the evergrowing and arrogant waves of Chinese nationalism which were threatening to submerge foreign interests would beat in vain; they openly lamented the demise of the Alliance.

Japan, however, bound to England by nothing stronger than a memory, no longer showed particular deference to British views. Our troubles in China found her unsympathetic, and gradually pursuing a more and more independent path; she failed to join forces with us at Shanghai in 1927, and we were naturally non-committal and cautious when she, in her turn, sought our co-operation the following year. The drift apart continued; the written Alliance had been dissolved in the atmosphere of Washington, and the spirit was shortly to be extinguished by the shadow of Geneva.

Japan's fear of developments in China, and anxiety as to the domestic situation at home, caused her to act suddenly and violently in 1931 in Manchuria, and again in 1932 at Shanghai, when her patience had been exhausted. She expected Chinese, and perhaps even American, protests; but she was hardly prepared for, and greatly resented, what she regarded as lack of confidence and unjustifiable interference by us. To her it almost seemed as if England was taking the lead in mobilizing world opinion against her. Her difficulties and perplexities were greatly increased, and an angry nation rallied to the support of the Army and Navy; she felt alone in a hostile world, and was no doubt convinced that any sentimental feelings of affection her old Ally may have still harboured towards her had practically vanished.

Communist demonstrations outside the Embassy in Grosvenor Square had their complement in attacks by well-known public men on the platform and in the press. English friends of Japan were almost overwhelmed by her vociferous opponents; Japanese friends of England were disillusioned and dismayed. The

tolerant and even friendly attitude of a section of the English press was counterbalanced by the speeches and writings of ex-statesmen, eminent publicists, and latter-day students of the Far East, whose intemperate zeal far outran their discretion, and their knowledge or remembrance of the past—so often the case with those not bearing the burden of responsibility. Ignorance of Japanese psychology and of the realities of the Far-Eastern problem, and the application of theoretical tests and standards to that problem, informed their criticisms and denunciations; it is as if a chemist applied to solid substances formulæ designed for gaseous bodies—the result might well be barren and unprofitable, possibly explosive.

So far nothing has happened except Japan's withdrawal from the League; but there remains a possibility of the emergence of a Japan as different from the Japan of the past fifty years as the so-called New Japan differed from Old Japan. It is too early to say what form such a development would take; but it is doubtful whether the "Newest Japan" would be a stabilizing force in the Far East, and even though remaining a bulwark against bolshevism, she might possibly become inimical to the British Empire. The ultimate outcome in the Pacific would then indeed be of grave and sinister omen.

It takes two to make a friendship, as well as a quarrel, and the opportunities of retaining—or should one say regaining—Japanese friendship grow continually less. It is greatly to be hoped that the trade conversations now impending may lead, in spite of a not very happy origin, to mutual confidence and understanding.

Many Japanese are well aware that there is not only real friendship but strong support for their country in many quarters in England; but the points of intimate and friendly contact between the two nations are fewer than of old, and may not be strong enough to resist the landslide of hostility, or at any rate misunderstanding and suspicion, that has been gathering momentum in both countries.

Japan's latest method of dealing with China (she has tried all) may have been a mistake—technical, inopportune, diplomatic, call it what you will; but would she have made it if she had been in closer touch with England? It should be remembered that Japan annexed Korea in 1910 with the tacit consent of England and other Powers; and the average Japanese cannot understand why her far less drastic actions in China now, even allowing for the new rules of international conduct at present in vogue, should cause such a commotion, especially in quarters—for example, Haiti, Colombia, Panama, Lithuania, Luxembourg and Guatemala—where Far-Eastern knowledge, interests, and responsibilities are negligible or non-existent.

Japan not only cannot understand the attitude of her critics, but complains that she herself is misunderstood. Like other countries she has fought wars when her honour and safety were threatened; like other countries she has come to the aid of her friends in time of trouble; like other countries she has maintained or restored order in regions where chaos threatened her legitimate interests or the lives and property of her nationals; like other countries she has solved grave internal problems; and—*unlike* other countries—she has even triumphed over a great natural calamity which ten years ago "destroyed the very heart and nerve-centre of her Empire."*

One may still therefore feel hopeful, and even confident, that in England, the home of fair-play and common sense, ere long ignorant and malevolent criticisms of a great nation will cease, and the shrill cries of obloquy of the fanatic be hushed.

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So much for the past and the present; what of the future? In the ever-changing scene of international

* *Vide Daily Telegraph*, September 1, 1933.

relations, certain factors are fundamental: similar ideals, mutual interests, common triumphs or sorrows; they are more potent than any document, more binding than any seal.

The ideals of loyalty and chivalry, respect for age and tradition, love of law and order—all these are identical in both Island Empires. The mutual interests, and these are many, may be different in scope and degree to-day to those of 30 years ago, but may once again become salient and compelling. Our common triumphs and sorrows were the theme which inspired the late Lord Balfour's peroration when he spoke at the Plenary Session at Washington on December 10, 1921, the day the approaching termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was announced; addressing more particularly the Japanese and British Delegations, he ended a noble speech with these words: "Something more, something closer, unites them [the two Nations] than the mere words of a Treaty."*

Signor Mussolini has reminded the world that no Treaty or Pact is eternal; they may be renewed, revised, renounced, revived. And perchance the future historian of the first half of the twentieth century will recall the fourth stage of that honourable Treaty—which has already passed through the first three, in 1905, 1911, 1921, respectively—to wit, the revival of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

* For an account of this historical occasion, *vide The Morning Post* of December 10, 1931, the tenth anniversary.

Parliamentary Lotteries

By Thomas Levy, M.P.

Joint Hon. Sec. of the Parliamentary Lotteries Group

ONE of the disadvantages of a Coalition is that it can never make up its mind on controversial domestic questions. It is so nicely balanced that it cannot come down on either side of a fence. The present Coalition has saved the pound from collapse, restored national finances to solvency, and safeguarded markets; but ask it to turn from these major tasks to reform our confused licensing laws, or modernize our archaic betting laws, and you will be disappointed.

I doubt very much if the recent report of the Lotteries Commission will have any legislative expression. The Government has stated in the House of Commons that a Betting Bill is out of the question this Session. That takes us into next year, by which time the inquiry will be a dim memory. One suspects that the Government does not want the responsibility of legislating on so thorny a subject, and that it regards the Lotteries Commission report as a very unhelpful document.

A policy of safe indifference to the Lotteries Report may be reprehensible, but it is not surprising. It would be more reprehensible if the report were a bold instead of a pernickety document, bearing every sign of acute divisions of opinion amongst the members of the Commission, smoothed out by compromises which are sometimes ridiculous and sometimes devoid of that precision which an investigating body of this kind may reasonably be expected to observe. The Commission was appointed, apart from the initial purpose of delay, to indicate a way of clearing up the anomalies and absurdities of our gambling and anti-gambling laws. Instead, it has presented a series of recommendations which add to them.

For instance, in order to discourage street betting, it is proposed that the bookmaker shall be permitted to receive bets through the post and in cash " deposited at his office, provided that backers do not enter the office,

or come into contact with the bookmaker or his employees." The bet must be thrust into a special letter box, lest presumably a view of or speech with the bookmaker or his clerk might encourage the backer to increase his stake, or contaminate him in some less direct, more mysterious way, with the gambling virus. If the backer wants to see the sort of a man to whom he is trusting his money he will resort to the condemned street bookmaker. If you are going to allow cash betting off the course with bookmakers, why on earth order the bookmaker to hide himself from the backer? If it is permissible to see him in the flesh at a dog race meeting or on a horse race course, why not at his office off the course when making a *legal* bet? The Commission offer no reason for this curious prohibition.

But that is not all. The special letter box must be closed during racing hours to prevent a person engaging in a series of bets while racing is in progress, or " during racing hours," and to prevent disputes. In other words, the Commission say that you may bet with your invisible bookmaker on every race *beforehand*, but that you should not be allowed to bet on, say, the 2.30, and then, because you have a sudden fancy to do so, on the 3.30. Why? The Commission say because you must not engage " in a series of bets." You may do it at a race meeting, or with any bookmaker with whom you have credit, or even with a street bookmaker, who, one may be sure, would survive legislation on these lines, but the Lotteries Commission think that you should not be allowed to do it through the bookmaker's letter box!

Another example of curious reasoning and the creation of fresh anomalies is contained in the Commission's conclusions regarding the totalisator. Discussing the question whether the Racecourse Betting Control Board should be empowered to set up offices off the course for the receipt and transference of bets to the course, the Commission admit " that the totalisator offers a more satisfactory betting service to the backer than the book-

maker." But they are against the collection of totalisator bets off the course on the ground that this would be likely to attract fresh bettors, and spread the betting habit, whereas the operation of totalisators at racecourses diverts a proportion of betting from the bookmaker rather than increases the total volume of betting at racecourses.

So far so good. But if the totalisator offers a more satisfactory betting service to the backer than the bookmaker, and diverts some racecourse betting from the bookmaker, why deprive the bettor who attends dog races of the opportunity of betting with the totalisator? I am not in favour of unrestricted dog racing—I believe I was the first to propose in the House of Commons a definite scheme for the limitation and control of this sport, the main points of which have since been generally advocated—but I see no reason for withholding from dog racing on a no-profit basis the benefits of the totalisator which the Commission justify on the horse-race course.

I know from investigations I have made that when the totalisator was operated on dog-race tracks it *did* divert betting from the bookmaker. Now, with the approval of the Commission, the bookmaker, whom they would have neither seen nor heard, in his betting office—terrible fellow!—has a monopoly of dog-race betting! The "logic" of this is baffling. It could only be the product of bargaining between the divergent views inside the Commission which has resulted in a report that gives excuse for inaction by a reluctant Government.

In the section of the report dealing with lotteries there are proposals and reasoning equally surprising. As a Member of Parliament who has identified himself—as Joint Hon. Secretary of the Lotteries Group in the House of Commons and a witness before the Commission—with the movement for legalization of lotteries, I may be held to be prejudiced. However, let me try to examine impartially the Commission's proposed exemptions from the general prohibition of lotteries in this country. They

propose that private lotteries should be allowed provided that they comply with conditions, such as (*a*) that participation in the lottery is confined (i) to members of an institution of a permanent character conducted for purposes not connected with gaming, wagering or lotteries; or (ii) to persons residing or working in the same premises; (*b*) that the total amount subscribed does not exceed £1,000, and that no expenses are deducted from the amount subscribed in respect of the promotion of the scheme, except for printing and stationery.

The only public lotteries which the Commission propose should be legalized are "small public lotteries incidental to a bazaar or sale of work." Such a lottery would be allowed if it complied with conditions such as (*a*) that it is held in connection with a bazaar, sale of work, fete, or other similar entertainment the net proceeds of which (including the proceeds of the lottery) are devoted to purposes other than the private profit of the promoters; (*b*) that the right to take part in the lottery is not obtainable except on the day or days and on the premises on which the bazaar takes place; (*c*) that the result of the lottery is declared on the same day and on the same premises; (*d*) that no money prizes are offered and that the value of all the prizes offered in lotteries held in connection with the bazaar does not in the aggregate exceed £100; (*e*) that the facilities afforded to take part in lotteries do not provide the only, or the only substantial, incentive to attend the bazaar or sale. Amongst the general conditions proposed by the Commission are (1) that prizes are in kind and limited in value; (2) that the price of the tickets are limited in value to a few pence; and (3) that the proceeds of the scheme are devoted to some charitable or philanthropic object.

Under these proposals any social or athletic club, or similar institution, or any factory or business organization, could run a lottery as often as it liked for any philanthropic purpose, such as the provision of equipment for sports grounds, or even for the provision of

free outings, so long as the amount subscribed did not exceed £1,000, and no expenses were deducted, except for printing and stationery. But a general lottery promoted by any *unorganized* and entirely disinterested body of persons, such as the mayor and leading citizens of a town to give financial help to a deserving definite charitable cause would be illegal, whether it complied with the financial conditions or not. It is true that the law at present prohibits all lotteries, but when the Commission talk of removing "very small lotteries . . . from the ambit of the criminal law," because these "do no social harm" they ignore the fact that by the good sense of magistrates, police and public, such lotteries—and large ones—have long been removed from the ambit of the criminal law for all practical purposes.

Actually, the "exemptions" proposed by the Commission constitute a *restriction* of the freedom which has long been enjoyed by these minor lotteries. Under the guise of removing the legal ban which has existed more in theory than in practice on such lotteries, the Commission recommend a far more stringent prohibition and regulation. This is quite opposed to the public opinion which led to the appointment of the Commission. That opinion rightly became incensed over the millions flowing from this country to the Irish sweepstakes, and undoubtedly favoured some relaxation of the anti-lottery law here to keep some at least of the English lottery money in the country, the outward flow of which the authorities were powerless to check. This view was reflected in the House of Commons, which by a substantial majority authorized the introduction of and gave a first reading to a Lotteries Legalization Bill framed by Sir William Davison, M.P. Parliamentary time could not be found for the Bill; its prospects were otherwise good, but Parliamentary procedure never gave it a chance.

It is clear that the Commission have failed completely to suggest any practicable means of stopping the success of the Irish sweepstakes in this country. They propose

making the publication of winners and of anything else calculated to encourage these sweepstakes illegal, and the confiscation of remittances stopped in the post. They rightly reject as impracticable the seizure of prizes won in this country. But, if the proposal regarding the publication of such lottery information were carried out, we should then be in the anomalous position of stopping these encouragements in the case of lotteries and permiting them, in the shape of information about form, odds and tips, in the case of horse and dog racing, which is responsible, especially the former, for the great bulk of gambling in this country. No British Government would accept such indefensible discrimination.

We are thus thrust back upon the contention which I advanced before the Commission—that the only effective means of stopping the enormous sale of Irish sweepstake tickets here is to give reasonable outlet for lotteries in this country.

By all means try to eliminate participation in this country in the Irish sweepstakes or in any other sweepstake, the profits of which are enjoyed outside Great Britain and make all publicity for them here illegal. But you cannot do it merely by restricting all such facilities here. You would only drive an illegal traffic more or less underground.

People will have a " flutter " and experience has shown that not all the anti-gambling societies and prohibitions can stop them. But you *can* control these natural gambling proclivities within reasonable limits. I am convinced that only by giving reasonable facilities for lotteries in this country can we keep here the millions which we are now contributing to the Free State Exchequer and to the Free State hospitals.

One is surprised to read that some members of the Commission felt strongly that lotteries involving an appeal to the public generally should be legalized, but that they were unable to frame a satisfactory exemption in favour of such public lotteries which would not open

the door to the promotion of numerous schemes of a fraudulent and undesirable character. I cannot conceive that it is impossible to devise a method of doing this. Much depends on the machinery. If it is sought, as these members of the Commission apparently sought, to devise some formula in words it would obviously be difficult to exclude all but the virtuous and respectable, but if, as I proposed in my evidence before the Commission, each case were sanctioned on its merits, and in accordance with general statutory conditions and limitations, the fraudulent and the undesirable could be eliminated.

If the Home Office, for instance, were to undertake the sanction and supervision of lotteries in this way the result would be far more satisfactory, with much less expense and trouble, than to thrust upon the police, who already have enough to do, the responsibility for seeing that all the conditions for small lotteries recommended by the Commission were carried out. Most probably they would not be carried out, because the police have neither the time nor the training to investigate and check details of financial administration in hundreds of small lotteries which would certainly be run up and down the country. Then would creep in those abuses which the Commission most fear.

One other aspect of the conclusions of the Lotteries Commission calls for comment. It concerns whist drives for prizes. The Commission recommend that they should not be made illegal, provided the prizes on each occasion do not exceed £20, *and that the place is not habitually used for this purpose.* A limitation of prizes is not unreasonable, but there can surely be no valid objection to holding a whist drive for limited prizes in the same place once or twice a week. The patrons of these drives get to know them, and the places where they are conducted. They are a cheap and useful recreation. If they are permitted, as they should be, to make them peripatetic will strike most people as neither necessary nor reasonable. Such a condition might even operate to deprive

small communities of this entertainment, because to hold these whist drives regularly in the only place in the community which will accommodate them might make it a place "habitually" used for the purpose and the whist drives therefore illegal.

Here, again, is a restriction which can only be described as pettifogging. Contrast it with the proposal to legalize habitual places for bookmakers for the receipt of cash bets by post, or through the letter box. Why should the unfortunate whist drive, in which skill is a factor, be compelled to oscillate between, say, the local town hall, the schoolroom, the parish hall, or the assembly rooms, because a few prizes can be won?

The more one studies the report the more evident it becomes that it was conceived in stultifying compromise and born to early extinction. To try to implement it generally would involve legalization of a very carefully detailed character which would give Parliament weeks of hard controversial fighting. Even the comparatively innocent business of legalizing Sunday cinema shows tooks months of tactical fighting and bargaining. In the end Parliament adopted the principle of letting districts which had not until then had Sunday cinema exhibitions decide for themselves by special ballots. That is really treating each case on its merits, by allowing the local voters to decide what the merits and demerits are. I am convinced that the only practicable solution of the problem of legalizing lotteries and of eliminating the Irish sweepstakes is by placing supervision and final sanction in the hands of a central authority which would decide, under common sense conditions laid down by Statute, what were the merits of each case or application. It would obviously be impossible to give local option, or anything like it, because many different cases would arise from time to time. This would ensure adequate safeguards against loopholes for fraud and private profit, of which there would otherwise be very many, and serve the cause of true charity and philanthropy.

Austria To-day

J. O. P. Bland

THE feelings of an Englishman living or travelling in Austria to-day are apt to be mixed and, as a rule, uncomfortable. Wherever he may be, no matter in what society he moves, he will often be conscious of an element of misgivings and perplexity, underlying the traditional liking and respect of the Austrians for England, their genuine friendliness and goodwill. Proofs confront him on every side of the undiminished strength of that instinctive sympathy which has always existed between the Austrians and ourselves, a sympathy based on community of tastes, on social ideals and traditions of sportsmanship; moreover, where politics come under discussion, they are frequently accompanied by indications of a very general tendency to hope and believe that, in case of desperate need, Austria may confidently look to England for effective help. In the course of the lean years of tribulation through which the Austrian people have struggled painfully since the war, there has always been the vague hope that England would eventually recognise the injustice of the vindictive treatment meted out to Austria by the Treaty of St. Germains, and bring about such a revision of its terms as might enable what is left of the nation to exist as an independent and self-respecting State, rather than as a suppliant, eking out a precarious existence on the doles granted by the League of Nations.

As one who has visited Austria regularly each year since 1923, I have often had occasion in the past to observe indications of the prevalence of this somewhat pathetic confidence. Recently, however, and especially since the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany, one is uncomfortably conscious of an element of perplexity underlying that confidence, of uneasy doubts as to whether Britain's foreign policy, as at present inspired and

directed, is indeed capable of expressing itself with the degree of firmness and precision sufficient to check the Nazi ambitions which threaten the peace of Europe in general and that of Austria in particular. In the Tyrol to-day, as in Vienna and Lower Austria, I have more than once heard the present critical position of affairs compared with that which existed just before the outbreak of war in 1914, and the conclusion generally drawn is that the danger of another war can only be averted (as it might have been in 1914) by an unmistakably clear intimation to Germany of our unwillingness to permit of any further interference with Austria's position as an independent State. The mild diplomatic protests addressed to Berlin on the subject of the offensive Munich broadcast attacks on the Dollfuss government (admittedly directed against Austria's existence as an independent country) and the contemptuous rejection of these protests by the German government, have done much to shake Austrian confidence in England as a present help in time of trouble and to create grave doubts as to the practical value of the official assurances conveyed to Herr Dollfuss that England, France and Italy view with sympathy his efforts to protect his frontiers from the crafts and assaults of Hitlerism.

There is, as I have said, something productive of mental discomfort in the abiding faith which so many Austrians profess in the efficacy of England's goodwill. For the past ten years, after emerging from the post-war perils of Red Socialism, the dismembered remnants of the old Empire have struggled bravely against the economic disabilities and penalties imposed upon them by the peace-makers of Versailles. In vain, during these years, while subsisting precariously by means of foreign loans, successive Austrian governments have appealed for relief from conditions which were manifestly becoming unendurable. Failing to obtain such relief, it was inevitable that (in the absence of any vital rallying point for the nation's loyalties) a considerable section of the

community should gradually come to look to union with Germany as the only hope of restoring the country's finances and basic industries. Now, thanks to the bludgeoning tactics adopted by Hitler and his henchmen for the creation of the Pan-Germanic State which is to dominate all central Europe, and to their typically Prussian methods of enforcing this super-race idea, the tendency towards the *Anschluss* has been effectively checked. A strong anti-German reaction has taken place in Austria, where the man in the street, even though he may be attracted by the Nazi creed, preserves the instincts of a gentleman. Particularly in the Tyrol, mainly dependent upon the German tourist traffic for its means of subsistence, the sturdy patriotic spirit which we associate with the name of Andreas Hofer, prevails over all economic considerations and over the German-race ideal. The very considerable portion of the population which, until this spring, sympathised with Hitlerism, have now been compelled to the conclusion which Prince Starhemberg expressed in his speech to the Heimwehr on September the 27th, that—

> "the vision of a greater Reich can only return when the rulers of Germany are men in whose moral qualities we have confidence, and from whom we have the guarantee that they will not treat us as a coloured colonial people, but as the *élite* of the German race."

Herr Dollfuss is still ready, and even proud, to proclaim his "thoroughly German" sympathies; but he is equally proud to let Herr Hitler know that—

> "only those sympathies have prevented us Austrians from taking the road of defence of our honour and our independence, which otherwise, against any other country, we should certainly have taken long since."

Germany's bad manners have thus effectively alienated much of the support which Hitlerism until quite recently enjoyed amongst a large section of the student class and the *bourgeoisie*. The high-handed proceedings of Dr. Frank, the Bavarian Minister, of Goring and Habecht,

have inspired a resurgence of Austrian nationalism and a large measure of support from all parties for the Dictator's "Patriotic Front." Of the Socialist party, of the majority of the working class and the large Jewish element in Vienna, it may safely be said that—

> "They had not loved Dollfuss so much,
> Loathed they not Hitler more."

But support for the Dictator would have been far more emphatic and widespread if the average Austrian could persuade himself that the sympathy professed by the British and French Governments for Herr Dollfuss's national policy is likely, in the last resort, to be prompt and effective. About this the average Austrian—small blame to him—has his doubts; indeed, in confidential moments he is disposed to ascribe to England's irresolute foreign policy no small share of the blame for the increasing arrogance of Herr Hitler's pretensions and for his insufferable interference in Austrian affairs; in other words, he suggests that Nazi Germany would never have developed its present truculence, had it not been encouraged to do so by the fact that British policy abroad is dominated by the theorists of international idealism. Our evacuation of the Rhineland before the date prescribed by Treaty, our readiness to relieve Germany of the burden of reparations at our own expense, our almost apologetic sympathy for their grievances against the Peace Treaties and for their claim to equality of armaments, all these appear to be evidence of the persistence of two profound delusions: firstly, that Germany's goodwill can be permanently secured by means of graceful concessions; and secondly, that she may be relied upon in future to respect such treaties as she consents to sign as an equal.

Can we wonder that Austrians (or, for that matter, Englishmen) should have their doubts concerning the ultimate objects of Britain's continental policy, and the practical value of our sympathy and support against

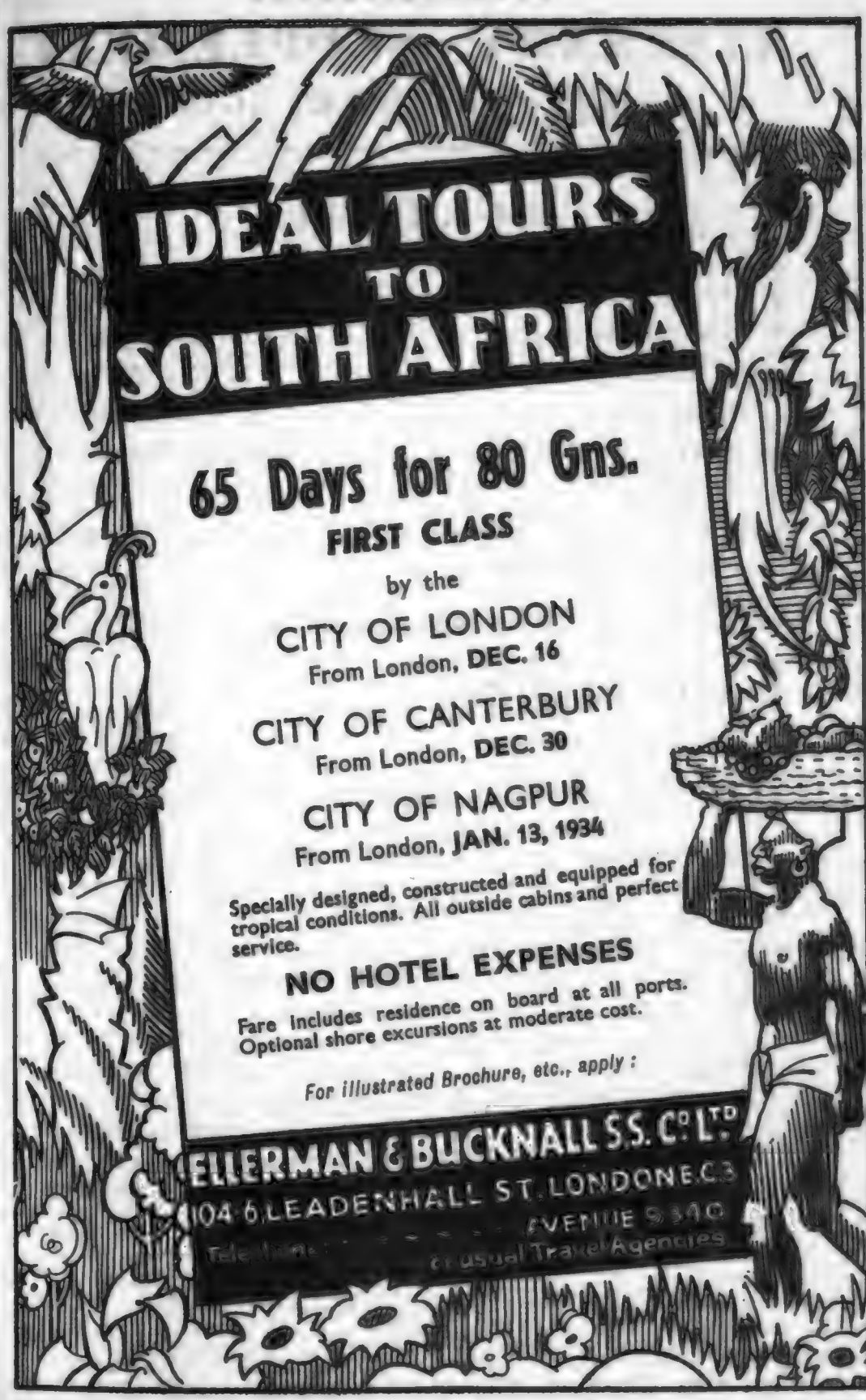
Nazi aggression, when, on the very day that Prince Starhemberg delivered the speech above quoted, on the subject of Germany's present rulers, they hear Mr. Vernon Bartlett, one of the major prophets of the officially-controlled British Broadcasting Company, proclaiming England's undiminished faith in scraps of paper, German-signed. Speaking from Geneva on the eve of the present session of the League of Nations, this well-known propagandist expressed the opinion that " England should do enough towards reducing her own armaments, even though Germany is more dangerous than she used to be, to get her signature to a disarmament convention ", and this, mark you, in spite of the fact that Germany's organized attempts to overthrow Herr Dollfuss's government constitute a flagrant violation of her latest Treaty engagements under the Four-Power pact. The average Austrian, like the average Frenchman, is not prepared to regard the signature of another Convention by Germany as sufficient security for the future; when therefore Mr. Bartlett, ostensibly voicing British opinion, declares that " politically speaking, we are much closer to a United States of Europe than we have ever been at any time since the war," intelligent Austrians merely wonder how any unbiassed observer of current events can fail to recognize in Nazidom the latest manifestation of the unchanging " Deutschland Uber Alles " mentality. Also they ask why it is that sloppy sentimental idealism of this kind continues to play so conspicuous a part in the foreign policy of a nation which prides itself on practical common sense. The question is not easily answered.

At the beginning of September, when I left Austria, it was already becoming apparent that, as the result of party discords, the position of Herr Dollfuss as Chancellor was rapidly becoming untenable and that Nazidom, financed and highly organized in Germany, must inevitably overrun Austria, unless a way were speedily found to provide the form of authoritative government which, replacing the Parliament in abeyance, would permit of

vigorous methods being taken against Hitler's aggression. The nation, disgusted with the failure of the party politicians to cope with this menace to its independence, was ripe for the Chancellor's *coup* and the application of his heroic remedies. By the 11th of September he had cut himself adrift from the party system and given the world one more proof of the failure of democracy, and the efficacy of autocracy, in the face of grave national danger. The ease and rapidity with which he succeeded in establishing his authoritative and non-party government afforded evidence of a general readiness to be rid of the futilities of the old *régime* and to accept vigorous leadership on new paths of national reconstruction. The Pan-German ideal has still its supporters, of course, and the *Anschluss* its adherents; a considerable section of the educated youth of Austria and of the *bourgeoisie* are to be found in the Nazi camp; there is still an Austrian Legion on the wrong side of the Bavarian boundary; but, for the first time since its shrunken frontiers were imposed, with cynical disregard of elementary economics, by "the turbulent collusion of embarrassed demagogues" at Versailles, the nation sees a prospect of being able to maintain its existence as an independent State under conditions that are not completely hopeless. Politically speaking, Austria is still divided into three parts—Socialist Reds, Nazi Browns and Dollfuss Blacks—and it is commonly asserted that an election would show the Browns to be in a majority over either of the other colours; but it is all-important to remember that, even if this were the case, they would assuredly be Austrian Nazis, not Germans, and would put their country's rights and self-respect before the blood-brotherhood of the Aryan race.

Those who speak of the "spiritual annexation" of Austria by Nazi Germany, imagine a vain thing. But the danger of political and economic domination of Austria's six millions by Germany's sixty million strictly disciplined citizens, is a very real one, for the reason that the smaller

country has been disheartened and disorganized by years of fruitless struggle against impossible conditions. And it will continue to be a real danger, unless Austria's professed friends contribute something more than moral sympathy to her support. Herr Dollfuss needs something more than fine words to butter his patriotic parsnips. He needs real help, in the field of economics, to enable him to remove the barriers which have crippled Austria's trade and industries. A commercial union with Hungary and preferential Customs treatment by the Succession States are evidently pre-requisites to any effective plan of reconstruction and to the country's financial independence. Given these, the Dictator's objective of a "Corporate State, based on the Guild system and vocational representation," should come within the range of practical politics. But before any such plan can have a fair chance of success, England and France must make it unmistakably clear to the Hitler Government that it will be well advised to desist from further interference with Austrian affairs.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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Edited by **HERBERT AGAR**

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Literary Notes

Art and Pornography

"THIS BRIGHT SUMMER," by Clare Meredith (Rich and Cowan), raises the subject of pornography in an interesting form. Within limits, pornography is obviously a relative term. No book should be called pornographic which does not tend to inflame the imaginations of the readers for whom it is designed, or to whom it is made available; and (again within limits) the question of whether a book will have such an effect must depend upon the literary and social customs of the age. To the general reading public of 1860, many books which are unexciting to-day would have been lewd and mischievous. But just because a certain relativity of definition must be allowed (as in the similar problem of indecency in clothes), it is a mistake to assume that there is no absolute standard whatever,

and that authors can safely go on from day to day in every way getting more obscene without ever reaching the point where they cease to be artists and fall suddenly to the level of Algerian postcard vendors. No matter how hardened the public may be, there is a degree of sexual emphasis beyond which no book can go except at the price of concentrating most readers' attention and imagination on that one aspect of the subject. Whether the readers' response be disgust or excitement makes no difference; in neither case is it the appropriate response to a work of art. The author's purpose may have been sincere and innocent; but the book is nevertheless obscene.

"This Bright Summer" is a case in point, for I believe the author's purpose was, quite sincerely, to produce a work of art. It is not necessary to assert that the author's mind was pure; but I believe her intentions were pure, and that she wrote this book with no thought of compromising her integrity as an artist. The book is intensely felt, and some of the characters have a reality deserving of praise. But all this goes for nothing, because the author has been misled by the modern belief that it is shameful, if not unprogressive, to admit that such a thing as pornography can exist, except in the dank minds of Victorians. As a result of this delusion, she has degraded what might have been a good novel.

Whether or not I am right in thinking that Miss Meredith was unaware of what she was doing to her book, it is interesting to notice that her publishers share no such innocence. They happily call attention to the fact that here is a story played out against a background of "brutality, lust and depravity"; they quote the *Chicago News* to the effect that the book is "revolting and beautiful"; and they quote Miss Ursula Bloom (whom they describe as "author of many books on love and religion") as follows: "It is an amazing piece of work, brutal and cruel, but so ruthless that it simply pushes aside everything. . . . It is excellent in all ways."

I wonder whether Miss Meredith was altogether happy when she saw the type of salesmanship her book provoked.

Napoleon and the Bankers

READERS who know Dr. R. McNair Wilson's remarkable book, "Monarchy or Money Power," will welcome a new book in which Dr. Wilson develops his interesting and important views on Napoleon's relations with the Money Power. For some reason, this new book is called "Napoleon's Love Story" (Peter Davies)—a misleading title, for although the book tells the story of Napoleon's relations with Marie Walewska, and tells that story appealingly, the emphasis throughout is on the political realities back of the story, and above all on the implications of Napoleon's financial policy. It is Dr. Wilson's thesis that in finance is to be found the explanation of Napoleon's purpose in life, of his wars, his ambition, and his fall. "It cannot be too strongly insisted," says Dr. Wilson, "that finance, and not territorial aggrandizement, is the key to Napoleon's reign; and it must be repeated that had the French Emperor consented to abandon his financial system in favour of the system of London, that is to say in favour of the system of loans by the money market to the government, he could have had peace at any time . . . The only other way to obtain peace was to threaten international finance with complete ruin. Because Napoleon adopted this second method he was attacked in turn by all the kings who, in their jealous hate of him, delivered themselves into the hands of Money, and made their own destruction, sooner or later, a matter of certainty. . . . The whole world to-day has been conquered by Money, so that there is no government that is not now steeped in debts which, no matter what sacrifices may be made, can never be liquidated. That this state of financial stringency exists side by side with overflowing plenty in the matter of goods, ought to surprise nobody who remembers that governments have

abandoned the right to create the means (credit) of distributing goods. Napoleon was the last king in Europe who challenged that right."

Dr. Wilson's thesis, as he himself observes, has the advantage that it suggests "reasonable motives for actions which hitherto have been ascribed to madness."

Marlborough

IT is too soon, on the basis of the first volume alone, to judge the final historical value of Mr. Churchill's "Marlborough" (Harrap). THE ENGLISH REVIEW will devote an article to the completed work; meanwhile, it is enough to say that volume one, which takes the story to the death of William III, shows Mr. Churchill at his most enjoyable. The writing is strong, exuberant, confident and impressive. And when Mr. Churchill deals with the falsehoods of Lord Macaulay the attack is fierce, though not at every point convincing.

It is interesting to find that in defending Marlborough's early life Mr. Churchill attacks the whole notion of party loyalty.

D. H. Lawrence Again

MABEL DODGE LUHAN, who recently wrote a book about D. H. Lawrence, has now written one about herself called "Intimate Memories" (Secker). The problem is raised by this book, and again by "Lawrence and Brett—A Friendship," written by the Hon. Dorothy Brett (Secker), as to the calibre of Lawrence's mind and character. A man's poetic ability is not reflected in the quality of his friends and satellites, but his intellect and character are, and the most generous thing one can say of Lawrence in this respect is that the muzzy-mindedness and hysteria of his women friends has done him a great disservice. But perhaps the most truthful thing one can say of him is that these females are just what he deserved.

Some New Novels

"THE FARM," by Louis Bromfield (Cassell), and "Ah King," by Somerset Maugham (Heinemann), are

both excellent fare. "The Farm" is not strictly speaking a novel, but it tells the story of an American family from 1815 to 1914, and even more the story of the Ohio farm on which the family lived genuinely prosperous and delightful lives. That world is gone now, both in England and America, and the farmer has contributed to his own ruin by trying to wrest financial profit, rather than a full and comfortable life, from the soil. For those interested in the possible revival of this vanished world, here is a heartening memory. "Ah King" is a collection of short stories. At least two of them show Mr. Maugham at his best, and they are all entertaining.

"Over the River," by John Galsworthy (Heinemann), is a welcome conclusion to the Forsyte stories. It is unimportant, when compared with some of the earlier books in the series; but it is thoroughly good reading.

"The Walls are Down," by John C. Moore (Dent), and "The Enchanted Village," by Edward Shanks (Macmillan) both deal with the modern world of social dissolution—Mr. Shanks with a non-committal cynicism and Mr. Moore with a hopefulness that is perhaps misplaced. But Mr. Moore's cheeriness makes his book very easy to read, whereas "The Enchanted Village" is a disappointment after the high promise of "Queer Street," Mr. Shanks's earlier novel. Neither in characterization nor in satire has Mr. Shanks done as well as his readers have a right to expect.

"Frogs Die in Earnest," by Douglas Boot (Eyre and Spottiswoode), is an agreeable tale of action, with a happy ending and some good description of fighting at sea.

Slang

MR. ERIC PARTRIDGE'S "Slang to-day and Yesterday" is a lively book on a perennially lively subject. It is heartily recommended to every one interested in the English language. However, it is only fair to warn novelists who may go to the glossary of American slang for authentic Americanisms, that the definitions are

sometimes inaccurate and that a large number of the phrases listed have never been slang at all in the sense of being current. Aside from this, Mr. Partridge's knowledge of the subject seems to be inexhaustible.

Robert Browning

LETTERS OF ROBERT BROWNING: COLLECTED BY THOMAS J. WISE. Edited with an introduction and notes by THURMAN L. HOOD. (John Murray. 18s.)

THIS collection of Browning's letters was formed by Mr. Wise, the greatest of modern English bibliographers, and is now given to the public for the first time. The earliest letter is dated 1830, when Browning was still in his teens, and the last letter was written shortly before his death, nearly sixty years later.

Browning's sentiments on the right of a poet to safeguard his private life from public inspection are well known. In "At the Mermaid" he makes Shakespeare boast that he has never enabled anyone to slip inside his breast and catalogue his likes and dislikes; and in another poem he attacks Wordsworth's view that Shakespeare unlocked his heart in the Sonnets, and adds that if Wordsworth's view is the right one, it was a regrettable lapse on Shakespeare's part—"If so, the less Shakespeare he!"

But it seems to have escaped attention that Browning had no objection to the public being informed of anything that was romantic and elevating in a poet's life. In "One Word More" he laments that Raphael's Sonnets to his beloved are lost.

> "You and I would rather read that volume,
> (Taken to his beating bosom by it)
> Lean and list the bosom-beats of Rafael,
> Would we not? than wonder at Madonnas—"

Had Shakespeare's Sonnets been free from dubious matter, Browning would have welcomed them as a revelation of the poet's own feelings, and might have cried "The more Browning he!", for he made it clear shortly before his death that he had no objection to the publication of the correspondence between Elizabeth

Barrett and himself. But that he would have objected very strongly to the publication of some of the letters in the present volume, there can be little doubt. Small though his faculty of self-criticism was, he could not have wished his correspondence about Lady Ashburton to be handed down to posterity.

Browning met Lady Ashburton some years after the death of his wife. Lady Ashburton was a handsome and overpowering society woman. "This so striking and interesting personage" Henry James called her, "a rich, generous presence that, wherever encountered, seemed always to fill the foreground with colour, with picture, with fine mellow sound. . . ."

Browning, whose fervour for the aristocracy was as profound as Henry James's, though less tempered by discretion, fell in love with "this brilliant and fitful apparition," as James elsewhere calls Lady Ashburton. But as he had firmly established in the popular mind the idea of his unalterable fidelity to his dead wife, he tried to combine the credit of remaining faithful to his wife and the delights of being married to Lady Ashburton by a proposal of marriage the nature of which can be inferred from a letter he wrote when it was refused. He speaks in this letter of Lady Ashburton foaming into a couple of letters, and bespattering him with abuse. "Yet," he continues, "the worst she charged me with was—having said that my heart was buried in Florence, and the attractiveness of a marriage with her lay in its advantage to Pen (Browning's son)." Her refusal to become his wife after he had warned her that his endearments must not be interpreted as anything but a by-product of paternal anxiety and a broken heart filled Browning with unbounded and permanent rage. A year or so later he wrote to a friend, "I see every now and then that contemptible Lady Ashburton, and mind her no more than any other blackbeetle—so long as it don't crawl up my sleeve"; and fifteen years after she had refused him, his resentment poured itself out as

freshly as ever in a letter of abuse against a woman who had taken Lady Ashburton's side in the quarrel.

There are many other passages in this volume which enforce the need to revise the usual view of Browning as a man whose nature was both generous and delicate. It would be difficult to imagine anything more vulgar and vindictive than his attacks on Alfred Austin, who had criticized his poetry severely but without any discourtesy. Browning called Austin, who was very short, "Quilp" and "Hop-o'-my-thumb," wrote a poem on him which ended—

> "But I've slops dirtier still to fling
> About you, and I shall, you'll see!"

and told a correspondent that it gave him an "ignoble touch of satisfaction when I think that . . . it 'riles' such a filthy little snob as Mr. Alfred Austin to read in the *Morning Post* how many dinners I eat in good company."

The character revealed in these quarrels with Lady Ashburton and Austin is not that of the finely-wrought poet and lover which tradition, powerfully assisted by Browning, insists Browning to have been. There are many indications in these letters that Browning did not transcend the limitations of ordinary humanity in his married life. He is not to be blamed for this, but he is to be blamed for his tireless dramatization of himself as the perfect husband. The general impression these letters leave is that his wife was far more in love than he was. He had not been married three years when he wrote to his sister, "I am wholly tired of opening my eyes on the world now." In his long account of his wife's death there is a complete absence of the intensity which one finds in the note Johnson sent a friend when Mrs. Johnson died: "Let me have your company and instruction. Do not live away from me. My distress is great."

A year after Mrs. Browning's death, Browning wrote to a friend about two Parsee women who were "prettier to my corrupt and rotten cheese-loving taste than any of the English fineness and loveliness"; and he goes on

to praise their aquiline noses and pudding cheeks. There is, of course, no reason why Browning should not have been attracted by pudding-cheeked Parsees, nor why he should not follow Casanova's example in connecting his taste in cheese with his taste in women. But any reader who wishes to separate the little that is genuine and deeply felt in Browning's work from the mass of second-hand theatrical matter would do well to remember the Parsees.

HUGH KINGSMILL.

Dean Inge

GOD AND THE ASTRONOMERS. By WILLIAM RALPH INGE. (Longmans, Green & Co. 12s. 6d.)

"AN optimist is like a barometer stuck at 'set fair'; a pessimist is like a barometer stuck at 'stormy'; no sensible man would give sixpence for either." This gem, dropped in a recent sermon, gives us the best Dean Inge, fresh, vigorous, pithy and shrewd. We learn more from him, we confess, than from the pundit who tells us that the kingdom of absolute values creates the world, and who knocks Reality "out of time" in the very first round of his book; to whom, moreover, it does not occur to stop and explain to his reader, with illustration and analysis, just what he means.

We congratulate his publishers on the finely conceived, star-studded paper cover. It is a happy touch of introduction and is worth more than one attentive glance before we open the book. Having opened it—well, there is something in the warm tone of that blue background that we do not find inside. The suggested sublimity is there, indeed, but the soft depth is somehow missing.

God, according to Dean Inge, is the absolute values, namely, Truth, Goodness and Beauty, which are "much the same as the Ideas or Forms of Platonism." "Personality, when attributed to God, is a symbol, and a very inadequate one." The three absolute values, we are also told, are "the attributes under which God is revealed to us; they are, we may say, the contents of the

divine mind as knowable by us." (What is the meaning of " we may say "? Is mind a symbol or a literal term? If the former, what is the reality for which it stands?) There is no future life. " My own belief is that whatever is born in time must perish for time, and this must be true of world-systems no less than of individual lives." If the astronomers, Eddington and Jeans, rightly hold that the whole universe is moving to destruction, then a God who is a mere world-soul (a conception the author condemns) is doomed to destruction, too; also, if the world ends, it must have begun, and been created. Our true " eternal life " is a " timeless " presence to God; " our lives here, once finished, take their place irrevocably in the eternal [timeless] order, present immediately to the mind of God, for whom there is no present, past, or future; present in their summed-up meaning and value." Thus there is judgment, but no heaven or hell to follow it—judgment for its own sake. " Religion is an affirmation and apprehension of absolute values."

If we understand this last, religion is the worship of Truth, Goodness and Beauty and the realization of them in life to the best of our capacity. A magnificent conception, so far as it goes. But does it not, even by itself, go a good deal further than Dean Inge appears to remember? The devotion to truth, for instance, means no easy programme, no mere reverence for a lofty word. The phrase " telling the truth " signifies in our mouths telling what we believe true, but, as the Archbishop of York has pointed out, its real meaning is telling what is actually true, and to do that we must think scrupulously. This is a book on the philosophy of religion, and has the vigour, concision (often too great concision) and occasional epigram that we associate with the author. But are we delivered in it, any more than in his other works, from arbitrary opinion? He is a wide reader, but not a trained reasoner. Philosophy is a subject for exact work, in which you have the task of proving your point. Here we are apt to find " I hold,"

"I maintain," "I prefer to suppose," "which to me is an utterly impossible conception." The action of his mind is curiously staccato. The book is not for an instant on the philosophical level of those, for instance, of Professor G. F. Stout, of St. Andrews, or Professor G. E. Moore, of Cambridge—a fact quite independent of its more popular purpose. We are not speaking of their conclusions, but of trained and circumspect reasoning. There are even singular lapses, such as the confusion (p. 42) of knowing one's own consciousness without knowing about one's own brain.

A score of fundamental statements cry out for elucidation. If God is real, and creative, and has "purpose," and if goodness is His attribute, why are we obliged to think that He snuffs out the human soul in the midst of its aspirations? The author's kindred book, "The Philosophy of Plotinus," is a work of scholarship, but not of analysis nor of clarifying interpretation for the student. What we have here is a mixture of rapid judgment, often shrewd, with a passion for a certain austere poetry of abstractions, a frequent phenomenon in the studious mind. The author has a somewhat naïve idea of how neo-Platonism, even its very terms, would stand a searching analysis and criticism. In spite of his reading he appears little acquainted with the more plodding, detailed, critical side of philosophy.

So again with the worship of Goodness. It falls to the worshipper to see that its whole meaning comes out in life. Dr. Inge's ethics seem to us as strangely mutilated as his Christianity is otherwise. Christ taught with a plainness that left nothing to be desired that "all the law" hangs on the love of God and man, and deemed it not unfitting, in the parable of Judgment, to put forward sympathy and service as the only-mentioned test for salvation. It is on the side of sympathy with the sufferings of humanity that our author's ethics are deficient. In his world-scheme neither God nor man is to be as sympathizing as Christianity would have them. To see

this in a modern light we have only to compare his outlook with Bishop Gore's. The meaning of truth and goodness carries us much further than one could gather from the writings of Dean Inge. R. E. HOBART.

Carnegie

THE LIFE OF ANDREW CARNEGIE. By BURTON J. HENDRICK. (Heinemann. 25s.)

LIVES of men of money have been numerous of late. Astor the First has received adulation from Miss Gebhard; the more impartial attention of a research student in "Business History" from Mr. Porter. The dollar kings *en bloc* have been ably if over-socialistically pilloried by Gustavus Myers, and praised by servile others. In England and Germany the newer literary fashions in biography (sub-Strachey, *faux Maurois*) have been employed on the fortunes of the House of Rothschild; in France and Sweden simpler and more sensational methods have handled the fall of Kreuger. Here, in Mr. Burton Hendrick's stout volume, we have straight narrative biography of the old school: a chronological birth-to-death account, without pretentious "atmosphere" or "psychology," of the man who was the nineteenth century's most famous millionaire and history's most extensive philanthropist.

Not that Mr. Hendrick neglects his background. On the contrary, he fits Carnegie into it admirably. The background, indeed, is made more interesting than the man; I know no more convincing picture of the triumphant industrial march of post-Civil-War America. This book's middle chapters on Bessemer, and the opening of King Steel's reign, and the rise and organization and wars and civil wars of the great Carnegie system, and the final deal with Morgan, make an exciting story, ably told.

The here interspersed chapters on Carnegie's spare-time interests and studies, his Scottish summers, his correspondence with famous Victorians—Arnold and Morley and Gladstone and Herbert Spencer—are much less vital, a break in the real story. The master of millions seems scarcely to have had a very deep or original mind, nor one that called forth quite the best in his illustrious friends. He interested them, but not for his views on Shakespeare or the future of the world, we feel; rather for his millions. The Grand Old Man of America's industry writes

enthusiastically to the Grand Old Man of English Liberalism on great and general ideas: "The American Constitution," he perorates lyrically in one letter, "is the most wonderful piece of political work ever constructed by man." But Mr. Gladstone confides to his Diary: *I tried to turn him a little towards the Election Fund.*

The long last part of the story: Carnegie the Laird of Skibo, Carnegie the friend and counsellor of the kings he had so long reviled, Carnegie the biggest benefactor, lacks also the drama of the steel days. The basic principle of the famous benefactions was this: Mankind is perfectible; ignorance is the only obstacle to this perfectibility; remove ignorance! And so the English-speaking world was sprinkled with free libraries, and its science and universities princely endowed. And so in his lifetime this generous old man gave nine-tenths of his mighty fortune away.

A rather lucky, dictatorial, opinionated man he seems to have been; yet likeable, loyal—to Scotland and old friends and old colleagues—and even as an old man boyishly bright and alive; fighting for his dollars with the grim joy of battle, disbursing them with the frank joy of a child. His special business talents included swiftness of decision, foresight, an ever-youthful readiness to take chances, realism in facing facts, pleasant or unpleasant, and—the touch nearest to genius—his gift for finding, and keeping, other first-rate men. In the forms of industrial organization he seems to have had no interest, nor to have foreseen the revolutionary changes so soon to come.

His many confident excursions into prophecy about the world beyond Pittsburgh would seem to have been singularly unfortunate, even for a millionaire. His estimate, on the very day, of First Bull Run as "a blessing in disguise" was indeed perfect, and history has endorsed it. On the other hand, James G. Blaine's, the most certain of all Presidencies, never came off; nor the imminent Republic in England; nor Britain's speedy absorption into an Anglo-Saxon Empire with its capital at Washington. His early views on America the Perfect must be read to be believed; though Martin Chuzzlewit had already encountered them. It was the land of Perfect Equality, of Perfect Democracy: that land in which the vilest human bondage known to history was still the law, and the slaver's whip the symbol of the Glorious Constitution. Democracy and equality may be good things or very bad things; that the country above all others the home of savagest racial inequality and plutocratic contrast between wealth and hunger could be believed by any man to be the

home of them is evidence of the faculty, not less strong in Americans than in other men, or in Carnegie than in other Americans, for believing what you want to, and that the world you have done well out of is the best of all possible worlds. Perhaps not every underpaid Pittsburgh "Slav" would have agreed with his master that "All Americans are Kings."

The Kings, believed Carnegie with all his mind and soul, were the successful industrial rich: the kings and the heroes. He is dead ten years, and his world already is fading. In one great country, a fifth of the world, they are seen not as heroes but criminals. In some other great countries the State and not Mammon is the god, and courage and patriotism, brutal or beautiful, are again the hero's attributes: not genius for money-making. Whatever the future of civilization, it is no longer quite certain to be the ever-expanding paradise of uncontrolled individualism and industrialism and millionairedom which made Carnegie, which he helped to make, and of which—as this book well shows—he was one of the more pleasing products.

GEOFFREY DENNIS.

A Tragedian's Retrospect

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOHN MARTIN HARVEY. (Sampson Low. 12s. 6d. net).

ONE feature of this book is so entirely charming as almost to disarm criticism—the devotion which the writer pours into every reference to his wife. Sir John has found in Miss de Silva (as Lady Harvey is known to playgoers) not only the perfect wife and comrade, but also apparently the supreme actress. On one page he describes one of her scenes of sustained anguish as equalled only in his experience by similar passages in the acting of Dame Madge Kendal and the American tragédienne, Clara Morris. On another he proclaims her Mélisande superior even to that of Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and elsewhere he pronounces her Ophelia to have been not only comparable with that of Ellen Terry, but in one respect an even richer impersonation. For those who remember Miss Terry's Ophelia this latter judgment will probably survive in their memory as the most far-reaching expression of a husband's homage ever put into print.

Sir John naturally devotes many of his pages to Sir Henry Irving, of whose company at the Lyceum he was a member for fourteen years. He presents him vividly as a great actor and a great man, and allows himself only one little grievance in the

connection—the Chief would condemn him to small parts. After Irving's death, however, he was able to adjust matters by undertaking such famous rôles of the Master as Lesurques and Dubosc in *The Lyons Mail*, the Dei Franchi twins in *The Corsican Brothers*, and the conscience-stricken Burgomaster in *The Bells*. One gathers from his pages that these efforts proved more popular in the provinces than in London.

The book is a long one, and some of it inevitably recalls a certain remark of Iago on chronicling small beer; for, to be frank, the author's work as a tragedian has really so far left very few footprints on the sands of time. His ambition has always been quite splendid. He justly claims that the only plays he has felt impelled to produce have been romantic, poetical, Shakespearian, and classic. As an actor, however, he has surely been good rather than great. His Pelléas was charming, particularly for those who liked the play in which it figured, his Burgomaster of Stilemonde in Maeterlinck's fine war-drama had pathos and dignity, as also had his Carton in *The Only Way*; and there was a deal of admirable comedy in his Reresby in *The Breed of the Treshams*. In Shakespeare, however, his Petruchio was surely a great deal more convincing than his Richard, and it seems quite likely that his Osric at the Lyceum under Irving was the most complete of all his Shakespearian impersonations, just as by all good accounts the Mercutio of Mr. Wilson Barrett was incomparably more complete than his later Hamlet and Othello.

The book is richly illustrated with portraits, of which one of Lady Harvey facing page 113 (a drawing by Sir John himself) is a charming and lifelike piece of work; and here and there the writer denounces with just energy the interferences of trade unions in theatrical matters, and the practice of smoking in playhouses. Finally, as the book is quite likely to go into a second edition, it might be well to correct the present misspellings of the names of Junius Brutus Booth, Mrs. Penberthy, Mr. T. Humphry Ward, and the character of Caleb Deecie in the comedy *Two Roses*.

H. M. WALBROOK.

Small Fry

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ALICE B. TOKLAS. By GERTRUDE STEIN. (Bodley Head. 8s. 6d.)

FLUSH: A BIOGRAPHY. By VIRGINIA WOOLF. (Hogarth Press. 7s. 6d.)

ARTISTS to-day have a difficult time. The society in which they live has no philosophy of life, no accepted moral code, no

religion, and the artist—lacking the discipline and co-operation which these acknowledged values might give him—is forced into a reliance on himself which only too often results in idiosyncrasy, triviality, and unintelligibility. In my opinion Virginia Woolf is one of the most gifted creative artists writing English to-day, and Gertrude Stein one of the least gifted. Yet Mrs. Woolf has written a book about a dog, and Miss Stein has written a book about herself, and both these Trivia are being hailed rapturously as important contributions to literature. This means two things: one, that the critics enjoyed reading the books; and, two, that the critics are in the same dilemma as the artists and naturally accept the artist's valuation of his own work on its own terms.

"Flush" is a *jeu d'esprit*, done with Mrs. Woolf's usual delicacy and sensitiveness, and as one would have expected there is in this story of Elizabeth Barrett's spaniel more about the Brownings, about London, about Italy, than there is about Flush himself. Mrs. Woolf has, in fact, simply stretched her imagination and wondered what she would have experienced had she herself been Flush—and the result is a fragment of biography as it would have been experienced had Flush been Mrs. Woolf.

I said that "Flush" is a *jeu d'esprit*, and as such it is a very charming trifle which should and will be read by all Mrs. Woolf's admirers. But I, as one of her steadfast admirers, cannot help looking at it suspiciously. Mrs. Woolf has chosen for her province those fringes of consciousness where thought and emotion and sense-impressions fuse into poetic experience. The danger here is always that of remoteness and unreality, and "Orlando," "The Waves," and "Flush," in chronological order, seem to indicate that Mrs. Woolf is growing less and less interested in using her method as a means of exploring reality, and more and more absorbed in trying to create reality out of the method itself. I hope this is not true, for the world has more reality than it can cope with, and great need for poets to illuminate and clarify as many aspects of it as possible. On the other hand, the world cannot blame its artists if they withdraw completely into subjectivism, for it offers them no external test of truth and puts enormous temptations in their way by demanding from them nothing except amusement. Which brings us to Miss Stein and her very amusing autobiography.

Miss Stein is a true portent of the times. She has never written anything which could be intelligently praised or even discussed in any of the ordinary terms of criticism. "Three Lives," the only one of her published books which is written in

conventional syntax, is childish and trivial. The other fragments of her work which have been published—such as "Tender Buttons"—are literally unintelligible. And yet she is accepted by large numbers of the intelligentsia of Europe and America as an author of outstanding importance, and her name is a household joke to countless people who have never tried to read her but who accept her as the typical exponent of Modernity. How did she get this reputation?

The autobiography tells us, if we read behind the lines. In the first place, Miss Stein has obviously great charm and personal magnetism. She has also the intelligence of a very intelligent child, and a sense of humour which functions with people and situations, but never with ideas. These qualities, combined with her flair for pictures, created in Paris a salon which drew increasing numbers of artists and writers, as well as the usual hangers-on of artistic circles. It is these last who have accepted Gertrude Stein at her own valuation and made her reputation. They are the kind of people who cluster in the capitals of the world, making a profession of knowing and being known, and ekeing out a precarious intellectual livelihood by picking other people's brains. But the brains that are worth picking seldom stay in such a milieu, and Miss Stein's book is a significant illustration of this fact. It is full to the brim of well-known but second-third-and-fourth rate people, and one has only to read Miss Stein's comments and explanations of her own work to understand why. I quote one of the innumerable gems: "She (i.e. Miss Stein) had just written a shortish novel called 'A Novel,' and was at the time working at another shortish novel which was called 'Lucy Church Amiably,' and which she describes as a novel of romantic beauty and nature and which looks like an engraving."

ELEANOR CARROLL CHILTON.

A Refined Theosophy

A MODERN PRELUDE. By HUGH I'ANSON FAUSSET. (Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.)

MR. FAUSSET is an introvert. "Spiritually and imaginatively," he says, "my real self was a centre of the Creative Will, and the degree of response to that Will a matter of cosmic significance." That is his excuse, if excuse be demanded, for writing this book. By surveying his own growth, he attempts "to formulate a faith which would equally satisfy the demands of the modern mind and the deepest instincts of the self." This attempt is probably

the most useful that any serious contemporary writer can make; and no contemporary writer is more incessantly and intensely serious than Mr. Fausset. But he has a defect which invalidates that part of his book called "The Outer Journey," in which he tries to describe his personal relations with others, the facts of his life. So great is his concern for the spirit, so great his distaste for material existence, so much is he an introvert, that the facts of his life and the people in it hardly appear. He has striven, he says, "to present the personal, not for itself, but as a mirror of spiritual events." The result has been that he has scarcely presented it at all, and that the spiritual events are very vaguely mirrored. He forgets that the more concrete image is the more efficient symbol.

But in Part II, "The Inner Journey," where he deals more directly with "spiritual events," Mr. Fausset's critical practice enables him to write with greater vigour and clarity. His critiques of Lawrence and Bertrand Russell are the more penetrating because he has tried to apply their doctrines to his personal problems. Both he found inadequate. His criticism of orthodox Christianity—though it suffers from a nervousness due to his childhood in a home where "morning prayers, the Sunday services, parochial visiting, and the writing of sermons, were part of the accepted routine of life"—is remarkably sure and fair. The anxiety which Gore confessed in undertaking an examination of the foundations of belief, "together with a self-deceiving impartiality," Mr. Fausset rightly considers characteristic of modern theologians and of the Church which they defend. And he suggests many of the reasons for it. He sees, too, the futility of attempting to force upon society an economic communism while the individuals who compose that society are still unregenerate. "Even a mystical order might be endangered by the conflicts of egoism between its members." "We could only create a new world," he says, "by re-creating ourselves. The man who achieved a true self-hood would inherently belong to a classless society."

As he well knows, the mode of rebirth experienced and advocated by Mr. Fausset is not likely to appeal to the Western mind. Theosophy, an eclectic *fin-de-siècle* substitute for religion, however sensitive and well-informed, holds little hope for the future. And Mr. Fausset has little more to offer as a cure for "the modern neurosis" than a refined theosophy. All his constructive thought is vitiated by a persistent dualism, the ghost that haunts his inheritance, which gives rise to the

ambiguous and dangerous distinction on which this book is based, between the personal self and the real self. He is more deluded than he knows by the feeble appearance of " this foolish body."

WYNYARD BROWNE.

Books Recommended

The following is a selected list of books just published or to be published :—

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND MEMOIRS

WAR MEMOIRS, Vol. II. By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE. (Ivor Nicholson & Watson. 21s.)

LAFAYETTE. By COUNT MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE. (Cape. 15s.)

HARLEQUIN SHERIDAN. By R. COMPTON RHODES. (Blackwell. 12s. 6d.)

TEN YEARS IN SOVIET MOSCOW. By ALEXANDER WICKSTEED. (Bodley Head. 5s.)

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By ARTHUR WEIGALL. (Butterworth. 18s.)

JOHN HAMPDEN'S ENGLAND. By JOHN DRINKWATER. (Butterworth. 15s.)

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: CIVIL WAR TO WORLD POWER. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (Routledge. 18s.)

THE LIFE AND FRIENDSHIP OF DEAN SWIFT. By STEPHEN GWYNN. (Butterworth. 18s.)

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF LONDON. By C. WHITAKER-WILSON. (Methuen. 12s. 6d.)

THE PRINCE CONSORT AND HIS BROTHER. By HECTOR BOLITHO. (Cobden-Sanderson. 15s.)

ESSAYS AND BELLES LETTRES

THE ART OF LIVING. By OSBERT BURDETT. (Eyre & Spottiswoode. 7s. 6d.)

THE SPIRIT OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. (Sheed & Ward. 3s. 6d.)

LITERATURE IN MY TIME. By COMPTON MACKENZIE. (Rich & Cowan. 6s.)

THE THEATRE IN MY TIME. By ST. JOHN ERVINE. (Rich & Cowan. 6s.)

THIS SOFT AGE. By ERNEST J. P. BENN. (Benn. 3s. 6d.)

ART NOW. By HERBERT READ. (Faber. 12s. 6d.)

LETTERS OF BYRON. (Selected by R. G. HOWARTH, with an introduction by ANDRÉ MAUROIS.) (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

FICTION

FOLLY FIELD. By ADRIAN BELL. (Cobden-Sanderson. 7s. 6d.)

DUNKY FITLOW. By A. E. COPPARD. (Cape. 7s. 6d.)

SIERRA. By RALPH BATES. (Peter Davies. 7s. 6d.)

IDA ELIZABETH. By SIGRID UNDSET. (Cassell. 8s. 6d.)

MORNING PRIDE. By HALCOTT GLOVER. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

VERSE

THE ENGLISH GALAXY. An Anthology chosen by GERALD BULLETT. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

THE WINDING STAIR. By WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS. (Macmillan. 6s.)

STRANGE BATTALION. By MARY LANG. (Dent. 3s. 6d.)